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Election  2000

Uneasy Allies

The backroom dealings behind
the Chrétien-Martin split

By John Geddes



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Editor

Waiting for someone to stumble

Not to worry, folks: There are only three more weeks of tortoisecrunch. In an election, you'll have forgotten all about this painful toothache of a federal election. So far, there have been no-value propositions: the Liberals did not have to call an election, the Alliance leader is not judged the best man to handle the top issue (health care) and it is not making the breakthrough he needs in Ontario, the Conservatives and the NDP cannot form the official Opposition.

By the end of Week 2, the Liberals were holding on to their strong lead in Ontario and the Atlantic with a margin that, if it lasts, points to a majority on Nov. 27. But the Alliance had a positive trend going and, according to the Environics Research Group, the percentage of undecided voters was growing (click away www.environics.com for results of nightly tracking polls).

Last week, Jean Chrétien's remarkable political good fortune continued: Alliance MP Jason Kenney, a British election strategist, declared that his party would allow private clinics along with a universal public health-care system. Then opened Alliance Leader Stockwell Day to attacks from all parties that the



Chrétien, Day: a painful election

Alliance had been hiding a scheme for two-tier health care under its bed.

It is too early to say if the Kenney statement has dented the Alliance. Hitherto the Liberals measured their attack, then they took Alliance off the books with their so-called Red Book and switched the spotlight to their own high-spending ways. With French and English TV debates this week, there is also ample opportunity for Chrétien to stand in both official languages. Although Day has demonstrated a light group of voters, Chrétien has been losing momentum during the early days of the campaign. Polls from Ipsos-Reid reported that fully 35 per cent said their opinion of Chrétien had worsened, compared with only eight per cent who said it had im-

proved. That means that alone among the five party leaders, Chrétien had a negative rating of -27. In contrast, Day had a positive rating of +13. The percentage of those polled who say the Liberals deserve to be re-elected has dropped to its lowest level since 1997 (click on NEWS at www.cbcworld.com). Economics, on the other hand, found that people said Chrétien is the person who would make the best prime minister.

Despite that, Chrétien had a flag in. And so it has standing in his own party. In the would-be cover story, Ottawa Bureau Chief John Geddes details the behind-the-scenes efforts to patch up a serious feud between the Prime Minister and his finance minister, Paul Martin. In the Liberal mission, there are two houses and it seems that it took an early election call to paper over the cracks. Week 3 may well determine whether the fix works.

Robert Lewis

rwlewis@broadcom.com or to comment on From the Editor



Newsroom Notes

On the trail

He may pride himself on being a people person, but the little guy from Shavelsburg's common-sense does not appear to intend to represent Ottawa Bureau Chief John Geddes, who wrote the cover story on the Liberal's endearing divisions, spent time with Jean Chrétien on the campaign trail last week (page 18). Chrétien, Geddes says, took the occasional uneasy stroll to visit the media at the back of the plane, but said nothing beyond a few guarded phras-



Geddes (left), Bergman: still

leadership and, uncharacteristically, heaving aside the media. "The last clearly took a toll," Bergman says. Last week, as Manning campaigned for Alliance candidates in British Columbia, Bergman says, "he was back to being his candid, thoughtful self."

In fact, notes Geddes, "Reporters don't see much more of him than my Canadian crowd by keeping an eye on an all-news channel." *Access was not a problem for Calgary Bureau Chief Brian Bergman, who contributed a story on Premier Manning (page 24). Bergman's last contact with Manning was in June, when he was fighting Stockwell Day for the Canadian Alliance leadership.*



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A WATCH FOR ALL TIME

Election agenda

Perhaps the single most revealing question we could all ask the Liberal candidate at the various meet-the-candidate meetings is "How did you ever come to the conclusion I wanted an election now?" ("Playing the odds," *Corus*, Oct. 30) The answer should provide some valuable insight into the motivation behind the move and whose interests are really being served.

Bill Averett, Cambridge Ont.

Last time I checked, the point of an election was to win. If Jean Chrétien and his Liberals want to call an early election, so be it.

Chris Ryan, Gormley, Man.

At a news conference in Ottawa, Canadian Alliance Leader Stockwell Day asked: "Can we believe the promises of Jean Chrétien?" The more relevant question is "Can we believe the promises of any politician?" Several court cases [the most recent being the case regarding the B.C. government's declaration of a surplus just before an election] have resulted in rulings that have basically told the electorate that they are just plain dumb to think that politicians have any obligation whatsoever to follow up on their elec-

tion promises. To date, the Canadian Alliance has already walked on a number of key promises (education and employment insurance restrictions, to name just two). So Day has already demonstrated that his, his party and his quest for power are no different: same crap, different pile.

G. P. James, Edmonton

I imagine that Stockwell Day's appearance on *100 Hourly Street* will be an effort to mainstream Canadian society. Having spent a lifetime in Canadian public schools, I know that our religious freedom is currently interpreted as the freedom to be atheist, communist, socialist, pagan or humanist. Being a Christian while attending Stockwell Day belongs to the only group

that can still safely be settled on its race, creed or religion.

Samuel Marshall, Ontario, S.C.

It doesn't matter that the Alliance is going to put more money back into Canadian pockets, return health-care funding to its proper place and eliminate the kind of waste the Liberals are under investigation for, because once the Alliance is in power, so say the few members, it is going to impose its religious values on

Barrelling ahead

Your article "The oil outlook" (*Business*, Oct. 30) gives us some interesting numbers and, since they are no doubt from the industry, we can consider them optimistic. Using the current consumption rate of 75 million barrels a day and a 15-per-cent annual increase (a likely scenario), the number of years left is not quite 13. Modern civilization is in for some radical change in the near future.

G. S. Clark, Winnipeg

the country and destroy it. The ridiculous irony is that Chrétien is apparently a devout Roman Catholic—a faith opposed to abortion, homosexual practice and much of everything the left supports. So why aren't they accusing the Liberals of also being dangerous? Because Day has the courage to say publicly that there are his values, like it or not. But on these moral issues, Day has said he'll let the public decide by referendum. The Liberals, on the other hand, push through their agenda—whether we like it or not. Who, I ask, is more dangerous to democracy?

Mark Walker, Toronto

Fanning the flames

It seems to me that neither Barbara Aronow nor Michael is showing any degree of responsibility by publishing her vicious diatribe against Arabs, Muslims and Palestinians—who are all the same and interchangeable in her world ("Peace never had a chance," Oct. 30). Freedom of expression is not a license to promote hatred or discrimination. Just imagine for a moment that the word "Palestinian" was replaced by "Irish" in

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The Mail

Where are the defenders of human rights? Or are human rights only for a selected segment of our population?

Danijel Pilgus, Ottawa

one offensive instance, for example, the last sentence of the piece, "the Palestinians . . . treated by their own people like animals for the past 50 years—and now, sadly, some behaving like them." What do you think the reaction would have been? Amiel writes all Arab countries into one monolith, using inflammatory remarks about Islam and dehumanizing Palestinians. If this is not hypocrisy and incitement to hatred and racism, what is?

Israel is a rare, privileged country getting away with assassination of land by force, most notably in 1967. Surely, when other governments use similar force, resulting in mass migrations of refugees, the world shakes its finger yet in the case of Israel, governments are content to be willfully blind. In the meantime, it is the Arabs who are seen as uncompensating. Let us forget, many of these rock-throwing youngsters were

brought up and still do live in camps. What is the alternative when it is clear that the red, white and blue machine is on the other side and can only pretend to be neutral? Why cannot Israel withdraw to its original borders as any other nation would be expected to do after having annexed the land of others?

Nazim Shalji, Toronto

Barbara Amiel is right. There will never be peace in the Middle East. The fire burning there is being fanned by a world full of blowhards just like her. There are pro-Arab blowhards and there are pro-Israeli blowhards, and all

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Overture

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Edited by Anthony Wilson-Smith
with Shanda Dentel

Over and Under Achievers

Deconstructing the debate

Knew your candidate: a pre-debate primer on what the leaders will say—and really mean—on Nov. 6 and 9

Gilles Duceppe Will say: "You can vote for the Bloc even if you're a federalist." Will mean: "If you vote for the Bloc, I'll call it a vote for sovereignty."



Alexa McDonough Will say: "We're needed at the voice of the left." Will mean: "When this is over, will there be a left left?"

Joe Clark Will say: "This election is a choice between the PM, Stockwell Day—and me." Will mean: "Why don't you take me more seriously?"

Stockwell Day Will say a lot of nice things about medicine—and throw around lots of facts and figures. Will mean: "It's more than just a pretty face—you can trust me, too!"

The PM Will say lots of stuff about his plans for tomorrow—and very many things about Day. Will mean: "Don't think of me as Yesterday's Man!"

Judy Collins: her 'woe,' Canada

Two hours before American singer Judy Collins was booted by a Toronto hockey audience for mauling with the lyrics of *O Canada* at a Maple Leafs-New Jersey Devils game last week, her biggest concern was what boots she would wear onto the ice. Collins, 61, worried that the red ones she brought might clash with the red carpet she would be standing on. But Collins, a hockey fan who was in Toronto promoting her two latest CDs, *Live at Wolf Trap* and *All in a Wherry Night*, was looking forward to performing before the game. And she said: *Maclean's* she was planning on changing the lyrics to *O Canada*. "When I sing the American anthem, I change brotherhood to 'brother- and sisterhood,'" said Collins, "so in the second verse of the Canadian anthem I will change 'sons' to 'sons and daughters'." Besides making the song more gender attractive, Collins replaced "glowing beards" with



Collins: the true North wrong—and angry

"blazing beards." Fans weren't amused. Collins explained later that she blacked out and forgot the words. While the folk legend has long been a favourite of Canadians for her renditions of Joni Mitchell and Leonard Cohen songs, after her run-in with the early hockey crowd, she can truly say she's seen this country from both sides now.

ELECTION 2000:
JEAN CHRETIEN
UNVEILS HIS LIBERAL PLATFORM.



'I did what, Dick?'

Since first choosing to focus in the 1960s with his internal news 'This Was the Week that Was in Britain', David Frost has become arguably the world's most famous celebrity interviewer. His subjects have ranged from Michael Gorbachev to Nelson Mandela to Elton John. But as Frost, now 61, acknowledges, no scenes have been more famous—or controversial—than his extended 1977 interview with Richard Nixon—the first granted by the former U.S. president in the wake of his resignation. In a meeting with Maclean's, Frost recalled Nixon.



Frost Frost

"He was a man with a great sense to be one of the guys, but no capacity for small talk. Often in any business, people are fascinating in one-to-one sessions, but freeze in front of a camera. With Nixon, it was the reverse. You'd lose the set, when he had just been fascinating, and he'd have nothing to say—but Lord knows, he tried. He'd say to the camera crew: 'We're hard boys together—meaning nothing.

Like those fairy journalists.

"I remember one Monday morning, when we were taping at a house we'd rented down the road from his place at San Clemente. He would have his makeup put on in one bedroom. I'd go in there, then we would walk through a kitchen to where the interview took place. As we went through the kitchen, he looked at me and said, 'Did you do any for-missing this weekend?' I couldn't believe it. I realized he was making what he thought was small talk, and didn't expect an answer. So I went *huh-buh-buh*, and we walked onto the set.

"Lots of people have stories like that. [NBC anchor] Tim Rockwell talks about the time a member of Nixon's presidential motorcade crashed his motorcycle and broke his leg. He was lying 10 yards from Nixon, and someone said, 'The guy has worked three years for you—console him.' So Nixon walked over, looked at him lying there, and said, 'Do you enjoy your job?'



Frostbait: his father was sure the old ways would come back again

Harnessing the skills of the past

About once a month, a private jet comes to Toronto to pick up David Freedman. "Our clients have an incredible sense of urgency," says Freedman, 36, who runs Freedman Harness—one of the world's most renowned harness-making companies. "I've had clients call and say, 'We'd like you to reassess our harness. We'll have a plane waiting in the morning.'"

The 206-year-old family business, which specializes in hand-made leather harnesses for horses and antique carriages has been based in Toronto since 1910. Freedman's grandfather Isaac nearly abandoned the trade after the Second World War with the rise of the automobile. But Freedman's father, Sam, "knew all the

antique carriages would have to re-emerge at some point," Freedman says. Today, the Rockefellers and the Pontes are among deep-pocketed clients. Freedman, who learned to hand-stitch when he was 10, left school at 18 to work. He and 13 other harness makers work at the Toronto production shop. Finding craftsmen to fill orders—now on a one-year backlog—isn't easy. But last year, a provincial government grant gave Freedman new hope. "We got approved along with a high-tech digital-printing firm and a couple other hot techies," he says with a laugh. "In a world of new technology, there's still room for old skills."

John Iatov



Overbites

"The policemen weren't skating well that night and the firefighters were maybe playing tennis. This one guy starts it and then the other guy gets in and then it's all of the cameramen and it got out of hand," I said. "Look, I'm finished. I don't need this kind of aggression."

—Ed Miller **Edie Stack**, who was refereeing a charity hockey game between Edmonton police and Calgary firefighters, describes how it ended

"The Calgary firemen got a little chippy. One guy speared our guy between the legs, cross-checked him into the net, and then he punched him in the head."

—Bill Clark of the Edmonton police team gives his version of events. It was the second straight year the traditional game ended in a fight. Calgary was up 8-5 with 90 seconds left.

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On slippery roads:

- Use all the grip available by gently braking BEFORE a curve while the car is traveling straight (100% braking, 0% steering).
- Take your foot off the brake BEFORE you enter into the curve (0% braking, 100% steering).
- Accelerate AFTER completing the corner and the wheels are straight (0% steering, 100% acceleration).

By slowing down before the corner, the weight is transferred to the front and will stay there unless you start to accelerate. Turning is better with the weight loaded on the front.

If you find yourself going into a skid:

- Try not to panic.
- Do not hit the brakes or jerk the steering wheel.

For OVERSTEER (rear wheels lose grip), turn into the skid and gently accelerate.

For UNDERSTEER, ease off the brake or accelerator and straighten wheels to regain grip and steer through the corner. If there is not enough room to make the correction, turn straighten wheels and brake.

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Overture

PASSAGES

Appointed: Denise Deleau, the 44-year-old head of MuchMusic, is leaving the video station to become president of Sony Music Canada. In her 14 years at Much, Deleau went from on-air host to



music director to general manager and vice-president, and also was responsible for the launch of the sister station, MuchMoreMusic. Under her direction, Much experienced a huge growth in popularity and played host to countless international recording acts. Deleau is succeeded by veteran MuchMusic programming executive David Klines.

Awarded: Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother was made an honorary companion of the Order of Canada in a ceremony presided over by Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson. The Queen Mom is the first member of the Royal Family to receive the honor and only the fifth non-Canadian. The citation accompanying her appointment praised her "perseverance in the face of adversity," and noted her support for her husband, King George VI, during the Second World War. The award was a birthday gift from Canada to the Queen Mother, who turned 100 in August. Although the rarely speaks in public, the Queen Mom thanked Canada and insisted on wearing the red Maple Leaf sash immediately. "When I wear it," she said, "my thoughts and my happiest memories will be with the lovely Canada."

Died: Comedian Steve Allen was the original host of *Tonight* from 1954 to 1957—later succeeded by Jack Paar, Johnny Carson and Jay Leno. His other television shows included the *Steve Allen Show* and *Meeting of the Minds* —where celebrities dressed up as historical figures to discuss issues. He authored 53 books and wrote close to 8,000 songs—including *This Could Be the Start of Something*

(Big). Recently, Allen, 78, signed on as chairman of the Parents Television Council in its campaign against sex and vulgarity on television. Allen, who spent his last few hours carving a pumpkin with his five-year-old granddaughter Amanda, died of a heart attack in his sleep in Encino, Calif.

Died: Screenwriter Ring Lardner Jr. shared an Oscar with Michael Kanin in 1942 for their original screenplay *Whimpy of the Year* . Five years later, Lardner refused to join actor Joseph McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee whether he had ever been a member of the Communist party. For that, Lardner became part of the Hollywood 10—a group of screenwriters blacklisted and jailed during the 1950s. In 1970, after years struggling to find work, Lardner won a best adapted screenplay Oscar for *MASH* . Lardner, the last surviving member of the Hollywood 10, died of cancer at age 85 in New York City.

Appointed: Michael Lykos will become the new CFL commissioner on Dec. 1. Lykos, a 39-year-old sports-marketing veteran, has a three-year contract worth \$250,000 annually plus incentives. In his new position, Lykos will face many challenges: the majority of CFL teams lost money last season, the XFL will soon recruit CFL players and the Arena Football League is coming to Toronto. He takes over from acting commissioner and chairman John Tivy, who has done the job as a volunteer for nine years.

Charged: Windsor Davey Boy Smith, also known as the British Bulldog, was jailed after threatening to harm estranged wife Diana Hart Smith and her sister Elizabeth Niedhart. Both women are members of Calgary's legendary Hart family—made up of wrestlers. Smith will appear in court next week on five counts of uttering threats to kill. Meanwhile, the wrongful-death lawsuit filed by Owen Hart's family against Kansas City, Mo., and the World Wrestling Federation was settled last week for an undisclosed amount. Owen, known as the Blue Blazer, fell to his death during a wrestling race in Kansas City in May of 1999.



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RAV4

FOR THOSE WHO DIDN'T FIND
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The PM's mean season

Now, here's a scenario that's partly familiar: Heading into an election, a leader from a once-popular challenge whose politics sit to the right. The incumbent decides to denounce his opponent, questioning his credentials to govern and even his overall intelligence. He asserts that the challenger would favour the rich at the expense of the poor, and rip the heart out of the health-care system. In a last-campaign debate, the incumbent suggests that the challenger "began his political career campaigning around this nation against racism." The challenger, unfazed, nods sorrowfully. "Thank you, again," says Ronald Reagan to Jimmy Carter. That remark is Reagan's biographer, Lou Cannon, wrote, was "such a wonderful, natural summation of an opponent's excess that overnight it became part of the political language." And Reagan went on to victory in the 1980 election.

As we head into televised debates later this week, there are some obvious comparisons between the Reagan-Carter campaign then, and the Canadian campaign now. Reagan and Sackoff: Day were and are the political equivalent of the Good Housekeeping Seal—their relentless credibility blurring attacks against them. Meanwhile, Carter in that campaign and Jean Chrétien in this one are, in a word, wags. There's an old saw in politics to the effect that when people laugh at you, you're gone, an appropriate corollary may be that the same applies to leaders who lose their sense of humour.

As late in Carter's case, you could understand why he was embly: American presidential elections are held on a fixed date, and Carter knew his re-election chances were iffy. Here, it's hard to reconcile the Liberals' early election call and commanding lead in the polls with the pointless, joyless campaign they have run so far. By most measures, they seem likely to win comfortably—so why are the Libs so out of sorts? A friend and adviser of the PM's who has known him for about 25 years says he hasn't noticed this morose since the late 1970s, when he flung himself into the battle against the newly elected Parti Québécois government. The friend said that is though it's a good thing—but with the PM, an increase in peevishness is often accompanied by an uptick in mischief, such as his obsession with Quebec nationalists. Witness his food-horror story last week to Lucien Bouchard to hold another referendum—thus, after the federalist side barely scraped through the last one. Now, we see the same venom directed towards the Alliance. And none of this energy has imposed itself upon voters. The PM is like the host of a crashingly dull party who keeps loudly apologizing to say up late, dance, have a few drinks and down up—while they just want to sneak off, grab their coats and go home to bed.

The thing this seems to bug the Libs most is the idea that

anyone could prefer the Alliance—as if to do so is not only politically dumb, but actually abhorrent. They weren't in bed in the old days, when the threat came from the Tories. Then, differences were political and professional, but not personal. The Alliance troubles Liberals in a visceral way. Another old Christie friend riffs of being "truly afraid" of what the Alliance would do to Canada if elected. Why? It's not as though the Alliance plans to beat and jail dissenters, or suspend civil liberties. For this sort of behaviour, you'd have to look to the record of some of the leaders the PM has made nice to on past Team Canada trips. In fact, the Alliance's main goal is to get government out of people's faces. True, it would make Canada more like the United States—but while that isn't everyone's cup of tea, it's a bit much to get terrified.

In fact, the Alliance has been marching more to the political centre ever since Day became leader—abandoning its far-right proposal, saying up to nonethnic Quebecers, and vowing to maintain official bilingualism, boost medicine spending and keep some regional funding programs. Nonetheless, the Libs still speak dutifully of how Day would, if elected, unveil a hidden agenda. It's kind of funny: the party of city slickers fears that the people they despise are unpolluted rabid night speakers. And that concern comes from the party that pulled a complete reversal on free trade, and the leader who scrapped his own promise to scrap the GST.

The Libs don't understand that their perihelion enhances the Alliance's credibility: you wonder what the PM is so afraid of when the polls put his own party so far ahead, with so many clear advantages. The Alliance has no one who comes close to Paul Martin's credibility on francophone issues—but that's one edge Chrétien's inner circle doesn't like to emphasize. In Ontario, the Alliance's plan to download powers to the provinces is a runoff to many voters. And last week, the Libs picked up an easy issue to exploit when the Alliance's Jason Kennedy gave them a bonfire by raising about two-tier health care, the ultimate hot-button issue.

But rather than get moving, the Libs mostly just get angry. Perhaps it's because Chrétien, in spite of all the fuss about his Shawinigan roots, has lived in Ottawa for more than 35 years. If you serve in government and live in a government town long enough, you eventually think that government should have a role in everything—a view reflected in the Liberals' latest Red Book. That helps feed the feeling that what's good for the Liberal party is automatically good for all of Canada. But based on results in the past two elections, only about two in five voters buy that idea. Maybe that's why the PM is angry at all those poor, benighted Canadians who still don't see the world his way. Whatever. Anyway, there he goes again.

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Peter C. Newman

In defence of the individual

Of Stoddwell Day's victims, none is more compelling than the fact he is not Preston Manning.

Rightly or wrongly, the clear impression of Preston's Reform party leadership was that he wanted to rid the country not given it. Day harbours no such illusions. Let others seek annexation and abolition. Such is after cold, hard votes—and he's getting them.

His great enemy is time. Can he, within the tight confines of a five-week campaign, lay down convincing series of endorsement that will prompt enough citizens—in other words, ordinary Canadian voters—to cast their ballots for his beach-headed Alliance party?

This was a tough enough assignment before Jean Charest stole most of Day's election platform, before the Tories and the NDP proved stunningly ineffective in mobilizing anti-Liberal votes, and before Paul Martin decided to place loyalty before pride, and let \$100 billion in public money on his political career's third term.

Now, Day's assignment is more daunting than it ought to be. Defeating in concept and erasing a gang of political manipulators in the Carbon Liberals is what democratic decisions should be all about. But the Grishamers' earned the title of Canada's "Government Party" for nothing. They launched this campaign boasting the advantages of experience and incumbency. That includes a federal treasury bursting with elected guardposts, pensioning jobs and a leader willing to risk having his country and his party for the sake of ascending himself in power.

During a recent exclusive interview with Day, he sounded like a man who, knowing all that, but had to radically alter his tactics, while remaining true to his cause. He has found himself on an oblique angle to sustainable reality, and understands that, in the circumstances, conventional promises would harvest votes. Instead, he is proposing the end of entitlement and the rise of individualism. "No question that Canada is governable," he told me, "but only if people are given institutions and frameworks closer to where they live. Of course, Ottawa must carry out its overarching constitutional role, but it must also start putting faith in individuals, families and communities, who, without being stifled by an overbearing federal government, have been able to see Canada progress in quite a respectable way. That remains to be pulled back. I'm talking about people, who are held back by a federal power that insists they can't do it with their own efforts, liberating themselves."

This is the vital fact about the Alliance: few voters have yet cottoned on to it. "It's not," as associate editor Paul Hanner wrote in *The Report*, an Edmonton-based biweekly

magazine that supports Day, "just an alternative to Liberalism; it is its antithesis."

Day is well aware that he cannot compete, so-to-speak, with a Liberal electoral machine geared to turning western populists into road kill, but he also knows that most Canadians are tired of being ruled by an ineffectual oligarchy dedicated to eternally perpetuating itself. He hopes that voters will grasp their way to supporting his crusade as an outsider who will demand accountability from the system—by changing it.

His appeal, which may not have the chance to gel before Nov. 27, is less program-specific than based on a fresh approach to governing. "We've developed a template in Alberta that worked for us, and that we would apply in Ontario," he explains. "Within each department, we would identify those things that legitimately should be the core business of government, and those that should not. From that, we'd develop an overall business plan, with its effectiveness measured quarterly. The key is to have each and every minister and deputy minister sign a contract, subscribing to their departmental efforts. That's the defining moment for public servants. If they don't agree with the restructuring that's involved, and opt out of the contract, they must choose the severance packages available for them. But the ones who remain are committed not only to making each program effective, but to being a lot more responsive to the public."

Stoddwell Day's real test will come after the election, when he tries to weld together a potential governing coalition in the face of a Liberal minority, which I continue to predict will be the campaign's most likely outcome. With Joe Clark determined to hang in until his followers are reduced to his immediate family, and the NDP's chances for growth looking increasingly grim, the Alliance's only viable partner will be the little Quebecois. It would be a Fusion combination held together mainly by their mutual detestation of Charest, but it could work. "That would be possible on an issue-by-issue basis, should we be in a minority government situation," Day concedes. "For instance, Gilles Duceppe and I met to discuss the anti-gang legislation, and that worked."

Meanwhile, Day continues his mellow campaign, hoping that enough Canadians will latch on to his down-to-earth, non-conformational style, but make that he represents a fundamental shift in the way Canada is governed.

He's not just another act, wit or otherwise. "You can't trust the Liberals' allegiance with respect," he told me at the end of our interview, "but by going after their record, you can bring people to a conclusion, that it's one of disrespect for democracy. And that's my message."

And that should be a tough sell.

Liberals claim they are united, but behind the scenes the split between Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin still divides and bedevils the party

Uneasy Allies

By John Gaudes

Jean Chrétien is searching for something to say. Every campaign stop is painstakingly planned, but when he steps up to the microphone, he seems to be muddling things. At times, his stump speeches emphasize federal investments in the New Economy. Sometimes, he seems to reach a crescendo with the declaration that Liberals believe in government as "a force for good." He'll say a few lines about racism. Last week's flap-up in the health-care debate may have given him a winner to ride, but Jim Red Book leaves him with little new to say on the subject. If Chrétien's message keeps shifting, though, the signal he sends with his silence and expression—that unique muddling of chronic awkwardness and undying self-confidence—is one of firm resolve. But to do what? In a candid moment last week, he did offer a notion that rang true for wanting to keep on running the coun-



try. "I like it, no doubt about it," Chrétien said in a TV interview. "I am a politician, I have been a politician since I was a kid."

So does it is—a declaration of the unambiguous personal motivation behind the malleable policy rationale. But the polls show no sign that Canadians are ready to punish Chrétien for who in a close, engaging politician might be read as empty ambition. Yet even Liberals confident their guy will prevail in his 12th political campaign seem strangely unenergized. Without a compelling cause to make them rally around the Prime Minister now, the party faithful tend to ponder what comes next.

"We have a very unified party at this stage," Health Minister Allan Rock told Maclean's. "But the fact is there is a process of renewal that will take place in some time, and people are going to get ready for it."

The "renewal" Rock refers to so diplomatically is the choosing of Chrétien's successor. The health minister costs



The Prime Minister with his wife, Anne Martin (opposite): a party waiting for renewal to begin

the job himself—although he is far too busy to say so these days. It is no secret that Brian Tobin—who stepped down as Newfoundland premier to run in this election and lead a Liberal push to oust some of the 20 East Coast seats the party lost to the Conservatives and NDP in 1997—also wants the job. But Rock and Tobin are long shots to take over the party. The undisputed front-runner is, of course, Finance Minister Paul Martin. His role in this election is discussed with exquisite delicacy by top Liberals, who want to quash any hint that Martin's long-standing rivalry with Chrétien might sour the party's campaign-mail solidarity. Political opponents, though, are not so careful. At a Toronto rally for Conservative Leader Joe Clark, former prime minister Brian Mulroney—an expert on party infighting since he undermined Clark's first tenure as Tory chief and finally replaced him in 1983—pledged that if Martin came over to the Tories, he would "be treated with the respect he deserves."

Is Mulroney's insinuation that Chrétien's inner circle is disrespectful of Martin anything more than a partisan jab?

Liberals in both the Chrétien and Martin camps have closed ranks for the campaign, and most of them declare with equal fervor that any hard feelings have been put aside, at least until the Nov. 27 vote. There have been ritual displays of togetherness. The day after Chrétien called the election, Martin appeared onstage with him at a big rally in Toronto. The two walk side by side, smiling with strained bonhomie, in one of the Liberals' French-language TV advertisements. Behind the scenes, a handful of Martin backers have been given respectable campaign jobs—although none at the top stature reserved for Chrétien loyalists. Martin adviser Mike Robinson will pursue Chrétien for this week's debates, with help from Martin aide Scott Reid. Another Martin aide, Mark Wootton, is Liberal campaign director in Nova Scotia—noticeable since Chrétien's election plan targets the province for special attention as fertile ground for picking up new seats.

While some other Martinites complain privately of being left out, even they agree there is next to no chance of embittering this opening during the campaign. Liberals pride

The separate processes that produced the mini-budget and the platform suggest a live-and-let-live truce between the two camps

themselves on simplifying the discipline of power. In particular, pro-Martin MPs who called for Chrétien to step down in an outbreak of public squabbling surrounding a party convention last March have topped up on the leadership dispute. One member of Martin's inner circle, who asked not to be named, said those MPs did some soul-searching after that messy episode—and concluded that prolonging the interminable battle risked plunging the party into a period of dormancy like the one that finally saw deposed John Turner's term as leader. "There's still a lot of division," said the Martin backer, "but frankly there's no way this caucus will do to Chrétien what Chrétien did to Turner." (At the time of Turner's resignation in 1990, many observers concluded that Chrétien's supporters had made it impossible for him to go on.)

Exactly what made Martin decide to sign on for Chrétien's bid for a third majority is a subject of intense speculation in Liberal circles. Some advisers to both of the party's alpha males fluffily dismiss whispered rumours that Chrétien might have privately assured Martin that he will leave 24 Sussex Drive, say, two years into a new mandate. "Martin and Chrétien have never had a conversation like that," declared a Martin confidant. "Chrétien would never put a time limit on his leadership." What is generally agreed, though, is that Chrétien made it clear he would not shuffle Martin unwillingly out of his job as finance minister—a post that Martin took reluctantly in 1993 but now seems loath to leave.

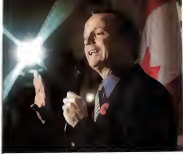
Just as important as the job-security clause was a timely signal from Chrétien sent before the election call that there will be no curtailing of Martin's independence. Remarkably, the Prime Minister gave his finance minister virtually a free hand to draft the mini-budget that set the stage for the election. That was a surprise to many insiders. Finance officials told *Maclean's* they had fully expected the Prime Minister's election strategy to dictate key elements of what was, after all, less a standard budget than an omnibus-

rary campaign document. Instead, the Prime Minister's Office stood back and let Martin's team design a ten-shilling plan, combined with modest spending, that the minister tabled in the House of Commons just four days before Chrétien's Oct. 22 election call. "It all turned at the very fringes they gave us to design that document," said one senior Martin adviser last week.

The decision to let Martin follow his own instincts meant the Prime Minister's most influential strategists were leaving it to a separate group of policy thinkers and political tacticians to dictate the policy framework around the campaign. But the situation was reversed when it came to drafting the broader Liberal platform, the so-called Red Book III released last week. This time, the Prime Minister's closest advisers did virtually all of the policy work, with Martin's team just now left out of the planning process, apart from some polite consultations.

The separate processes that produced the mini-budget and the platform suggest a live-and-let-live truce between Martin and Chrétien. But the distance between the two camps also creates serious problems in the campaign period, when nothing flows the same script is crucial. The two documents do not mesh together easily—and arguably clash on several points. The platform, titled *Opportunity for All*, repeats the Liberal party's vow from its 1997 Red Book to allocate "half of his department and the other half to social and economic interventions." But it takes a very creative accountant to find real evidence of a 50-50 split when the platform's spending plans are balanced against Martin's cuts.

The platform lists \$24.2 billion in new "investments" over four years, far outweighed by the \$52 billion in tax reductions Martin promised over the same period—and that's not taking into consideration his commitment to pay down at least \$3 billion in debt a year. If, by much more, Martin told *Maclean's* the 50-50 pledge is not meant to put firm limits



Days did he hand Chrétien an issue his party can better defend after a muddled start?

around budget-making. "It's not a rule of law," he explained. "The main purpose of setting it out is a symbol of balance."

In fact, there is barely a mention of Martin's massive tax-cut package in a two-page introduction to the platform that appears over Chrétien's signature. Near the front of the pamphlet, two brief pages on "among finances" look tucked on as a sort of tip-off to the hush on Martin's fiscal recalcitrance. Then comes the meat of Chrétien's election pitch outlined in three longer chapters: one on innovation, promising high-speed Internet access in all communities by 2004; a second on health and the environment, highlighting Chrétien's Sept. 11 deal with the premiers to boost health funding; and a third on what the Liberals call community issues, from crime to agriculture, showcasing such policies as a pledge to work with provinces to create more affordable rental housing.

The fact that there is no sign of any effort to integrate Martin's above-the-board tax relief as a major thrust of the platform reflects the distant relationship between the two main Liberal figures. Martin's policy flows out of his department and the private consulting firm Earncliffe Strategy Group. Chrétien's ideas are developed by a tight circle of advisers, led by his alter ego Ed de Groen and policy chief Charles Houli, with pollster Frank Graves, president of Elton Research Associates Inc., supplying an influential outside perspective on what Canadians want. "It would be wrong to view the content of these parallel Liberal workbooks as dysfunctional. After all, the arrangements worked well enough to eliminate the federal deficit and send the Liberals into this campaign with a daunting lead in the polls. Stephen Chrétien, a University of Toronto political science professor and expert on the Liberal party, says the competitive, yet productive, relationship is unprecedented. "Without Martin, Chrétien would not have been able to do the job he has done," Chrétien said. "And yet there's this tension. I think it's unique."

Productive as the relationship between Chrétien and Martin has been, it carries obvious risks for a party marching into a campaign. Walk there was nothing in the first two weeks to compare with the bitter divisions that rained last March's con-

vention into a full-blown family feud, three undercurrents occasionally breaking to the surface. When Chrétien decided not to invite the president of the Young Liberals of Canada, Véronique de Paoli, to join his election team—a jousting role played by her predecessor—a flurry of outraged e-mails circulated among the party's youth wing. De Paoli is an outspoken Martin supporter. Even *Yves Beauregard*, the young Liberal communications vice-president—an assembly apolitical partner, who at 22 is working in his first federal campaign and has his pro-Chrétien poster down cold—called foul. "Véronique had given her commitment that she was going to work as a candidate for a third majority," Beauregard said. "I think that should have been accepted."

Another bad day for party unity came when the entire executive of a local Liberal association in a Quebec riding resigned over the selection of a staunch Chrétien supporter as their candidate. Liberal organizers in Montreal unanimously picked Ral Marceau as the party's candidate in Brossard-Nepean-De la Miti. In stepping down as riding president in protest, Réal Tremblay said a news conference the Liberals could not win the seat until Chrétien leaves and Martin succeeds to the top job. But most Quebec Liberal organizers are staying in their jobs to fight the campaign—although some make no bones about their misgivings about Chrétien. "We're at war right now so we're fighting for our side," said Louis-Vincent Sylvestre, president of the Liberal riding association for Berthier-Montréal, near Quebec City. "We're trying to maintain Chrétien's and emphasizing the team, Martin, Alvin Rock and John Manley. Pierre Pettigrew and Stephen Dixon, and say, 'Don't think only of Mr. Chrétien, look at how the government is managed.'"

The Liberal split over leadership is most apparent outside Quebec. While many Liberals elsewhere might also have preferred to be running this time under Martin's banner, Chrétien draws on a deep well of respect and fondness in the party. He is a proven winner who enjoys a warm, reciprocal rapport with many voters, even when he is wrong to find a focus for his stump speeches. Still, Liberal organizers in the West, where the party faces a tough fight against the Alliance to hold its own in a rough race or a few more, tend to regard the Prime Minister with ambivalence. Last week, when Chrétien stopped for a Liberal rally in Edmonton, Greg Schmidt, campaign manager for Justice Minister Aron McAllister, who faces a tough battle to hold her Edmonton West seat, dragged off a question about whether Alberta Liberals might feel better under Martin. "That's a hypothetical," Schmidt said.

When it comes to the hypothetical, many Liberals are indulging primarily in discussions about what happens after the election. How long would Chrétien, 66, stick around if he



Chrétien with Martin, first (top) the Prime Minister in a private political encounter who continues to draw on a deep well of respect and fondness in the party he leads

won a third consecutive majority? Would he step down quickly if an Alliance breakthrough relegated him to a minority? Don't count on it, says one senior Martin supporter. "Chretien is not the type of guy who wants his epitaph to be that he quit the fight." Based on that assessment of the Prime Minister's pride—and contrary to speculation that Martin might secretly welcome a minority result—any Martin backers are pinning their hopes on a majority that would allow Chretien to leave anyone with his head held high.

So far there is nothing to suggest he will get anything less on Nov. 27. Based on the latest *Space-Red* poll, Barry Kay, a Wilfrid Laurier University political scientist who analyzes publicly available polling, projects a huge 173-seat win for the Liberals—way up from the 155 they won in 1997—compared with 71 for the Alliance, 49 for the Bloc Québécois, or for the NDP a single Tony MP and one independent. That forecast is based on polling conducted partly during the days last week when the Alliance was drawn into a dangerous debate over "two-tier" health care. Stoolwell Day was left struggling to explain that he favored private clinics operating alongside public ones only if all services are covered by government health insurance. But Chretien accused the Alliance of disguising its intention to dismantle the universal health system. After a rudderless start to the campaign and a platform launch that exposed his party's divisions rather than crystallizing a single vision, Chretien may have been handed an issue his party can unite behind. Now the question is whether Liberals can convince themselves that they not only want to win, but win for a reason.

With Julian Beltrame in Ottawa and Brenda Beausoleil in Montreal

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On the Issues Mary Janigan

Towards a two-tier system

The health-care policy debate has bogged down over the use and misuse of two highly charged words: public and private. On one side, Alliance campaign co-chairman Jason Kenney has recklessly insisted that Ottawa should allow the provinces to provide access to undefined "choices" in health care—is long as everyone has the option of using a "quality universal public health-care system." All other parties—the Liberals, the Bloc Québécois, the Conservatives and the New Democrats—have pounced, charging that such "choices" would entail the creation of a two-tier system that would allow wealthier Canadians to pay private clinics for basic public services, getting faster treatment in more luxurious surroundings. The debate has unfortunately focused on the immediate, but rather far-fetched, prospect of privatization. And it has ignored innocuous-sounding, plain in the Alliance platform that

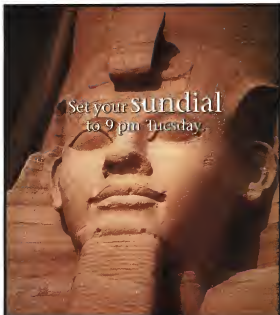
would be far more likely to diminish Ottawa's role in health care—and to allow individual provinces to creep towards two-tier care.

The very word "private" has become a bogobolkin—but medicine has always been a mix of the public and the private. Private providers such as physicians offer publicly funded basic services. If doctors decide to charge private fees for services that would otherwise be publicly funded, they must explicitly opt out of medicine. Private clinics can provide both publicly funded services, such as basic blood tests—and private services, such as cosmetic surgery, that are not covered by medicine. In Alberta, those private clinics can even provide publicly funded services that entail overnight stays. But it is contrary to the principles of the *Canada Health Act*—and all provinces' health insurance act—for a choice to charge patients for a medically necessary service that is publicly insured. "The

rubicon is are you willing to allow private payment for what would be publicly funded services?" says health-care consultant Michael Deane.

The Alliance—and a ranked Kenney—say No: clinics would not be permitted to charge for basic services. The party supports the five principles of the *Canada Health Act*: universal, portable, accessible, comprehensive and publicly administered. It would even add \$400 million to the 2001-2002 cash transfer of \$18.5 billion to the provinces. But the prospect of drastic change also lurks behind the Alliance's soothing phrases. At present, Ottawa decides whether a violation of the *Canada Health Act* has occurred—and then subtracts penalties from its cash transfers. Under the Alliance, Ottawa would lose that door it would see "national standards" with the provinces—and then create an "independent enforcement mechanism" to decide whether a violation had occurred.

In the longer term, the Alliance would transfer tax points to the provinces to replace an unspecified portion of cash transfers: that is, Ottawa would lower its tax rates—and the provinces would raise theirs by an equivalent amount. Although the Alliance insists that a federal cash transfer would still exist, it would obviously be much smaller, and the ability to enforce national standards would be diminished. What happens if a province then decides to charge less and allow private clinics to charge fees for basic services? Ottawa would have little clout to enforce its will: the issue would lie between the provincial governments, with the responsibility to deliver health care, and its voters. But the Alliance cannot pretend that everything would be the same under its government. It wouldn't. And its platform vague wording can only encourage public unease.



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The Lonely Warrior

Preston Manning remains a loyal soldier for the cause

By Brian Bergman in Victoria

One of the campaign buses and planes and the high-powered advisers whispering in his ear. Gone, too, is the phalanx of television cameras and reporters tracking his every move. Instead, as former Reform party leader Preston Manning made the rounds in Victoria last week, friend and longtime party activist Gordon Shaw ferried him from place to place in a Toyota minivan. At one point, a solitary reporter asking Manning for the day asked him whether he missed the limelight of leadership. "Oh, no," he replied in the gentle, collected voice that maintains delight in parodying. "This is a lot like the campaigning we did for years to build the party, trying to convince small groups and individuals to join. I did this for a lot longer than I did the high-level stuff. So I don't miss it."

Whether that is entirely true, Preston Manning has clearly returned to his roots. The low-key visit to Victoria, where he campaigned on behalf of three Vancouver Island Canadian Alliance candidates, felt at times like a throwback to an earlier era. It could have been the late 1980s, when Manning travelled the backroads of Western Canada begging the fledgling Reform party. Or perhaps one of the scorching summers of the early 1990s, when he first tried to sell his brand of prairie populism to skeptical Ontarians. In reality, though, the Victoria trip (preluded by appearances on two Vancouver open-line radio programs) marked Manning's return, however tentative, to the national political stage that he exited so abruptly in July—after the party he founded, led to official Opposition status and then folded into the Canadian Alliance, ejected him in favour of a younger, baskier man.

Following that defeat, the 58-year-old father of five retreated with his family, which now includes four grandchildren under the age of 3. His role on horseback for 10 days in the Rocky Mountains and later vacationed on Vancouver



Giving out All Souls treats: the kind of phase-up Day would reveal us

Island. An intensely private person, Manning is loath to talk about the emotional toll of losing the party leadership to Stockwell Day. But what little he does say is revealing. "The hardest thing," he told *Maclean's* last week, "is not the disappointment. It's that when you've been going on nerves and adrenaline for so long and you stop, the doctor says your immune system goes down. That's a kind of withdrawal phenomenon you go through." He pauses for a second and then adds, "I just dealt with it as best I could."

Manning says he plans to spend half of the current election campaign in his home riding of Calgary Southwest. That's in striking contrast to the 1997 campaign when, by his reckoning, he was there for only one day—and still managed to win by more than 18,000 votes. The rest of the time he will be on the road, helping out younger candidates and visiting key ridings in Ontario and Atlantic Canada where the Alliance hopes to make a breakthrough. As he rides in, though, Manning appears keen not to upstage his successor. "I have a balance to be maintained," he says. "I want to be support-

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With Day on the campaign trail for other candidates

are, but not so visible that it creates any kind of diversion."

Certainly if Manning's day-long detour will in and around Victoria is any indication, Day has little to worry about. Whether on open-line shows, at a quiet fund-raising luncheon overlooking Victoria harbor, or a public rally at a local adult-education centre, Manning was over the loyal soldier. He praised Day, a former Alberta treasurer, as the only one of the five party leaders who has actually implemented his own and debt reduction. He also held Day up as a proponent of co-operative federalism, contrasting him to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, whom Manning claimed had been "poisoned" by his dealings with Quebec separatists into viewing all provinces as "the enemies."

When bluntly confronted with the sometimes unflattering comparisons between himself and Day, Manning continued to defend his leader. "Doesn't it choke you," asked a member of the *Vancouver Times-College* editorial board, "that someone easier and funnier than you is more successful?" Manning didn't even flinch. "It's unfair to say Steve doesn't have substance," he replied, going on to again extol Day's record as the former manager of Alberta finances.

Along the way, Manning dropped into the campaign headquarters of all three Alliance candidates in the Victoria area—MPs Keith Martin and Gary Lunn, as well as newcomer Bruce Hallock, a 33-year-old lawyer who is running against Environment Minister David Anderson in the Victoria riding, a seat the Alliance would dearly love to win. As Manning chatted up Lunn's campaign workers in one part of the room,

the member for Sanikilille Islands recalled for Manning how, in the Alliance leadership race, he had supported Ontario backroom strategist Tom Long on the first ballot and Day on the second. It was, he said, "a case of listening to the head rather than the heart." Lunn marvels at Manning's continued commitment in the wake of personal defeat. "I think he probably knows in his heart that the party made the right decision," says Lunn.

At times, Manning almost says the same himself. He notes that one of the common knicks against him was that he lacked communication skills—and allows that Day has those in abundance. Commenting on Chrétien's decision to seek a third term, he says that "he's made the classical mistake of most political leaders—he's stayed too long." But, asked if the same might be said of his own decision to contest the Canadian Alliance leadership, Manning replies: "I say let the democratic process work and it will tell you when you've stayed too long. The people you are aspiring to lead should decide that question, rather than yourself."

In fact, if the caustic and scoured Manning occasionally grins at the exploits of his propagandists—and sometimes glibly—accuses, he keeps it to himself. In style, the two men could scarcely be more different. Although Manning was always a voracious reader, he had letters. "I couldn't imagine him in a wet suit," says University of Calgary political scientist David Tiers, who has observed Manning for many years. "Or doing The Kasey Kell deep-dish thing."

The final stop on the Victoria tour illustrates that point. On Halloween, Manning and Hallock are dispatched with orange buckets filled with candy to a local shopping mall where concerned children are doing some early trick-or-treating. It is the kind of staged photo op that Day would sneer in—but that Manning comes off with a kind of shy awkwardness that underlines an essential ardor. Parents and other adults in the mall seem genuinely pleased to see the

"There's a withdrawal phenomenon you go through—I just dealt with it as best I could"

former opposition leader and eager to shake his hand. For Manning, though, that doesn't seem to be the point. To all comers, he quickly introduces Hallock as the Alliance candidate in Victoria. He wants to give the political neophyte some much-needed public exposure and coverage in the local newspaper. He succeeds on both scores.

Seven years ago, near the onset of another election campaign, Sandra Manning carefully described her husband to a reporter: "He is someone who has a very basic trait of generosity and should be doing something else," she said. "Not supposed to be aggressive and abusive in politics, which he is." Prudent Manning, it seems, has not changed. And in his new role as his party's elder statesman, that is probably not such a bad thing. ☐

Cynicism in Quebec

Voters are unenthusiastic about the choices facing them

Throughout the election campaign, Maclean's is compiling voter opinions on key issues in five high-voter ridings across the country—Mississauga Centre, Calgary South, Marquette in Ontario, Laval East in Quebec and Halifax, as well as profiling each riding. This week, Montreal Bureau Chief Brenda Brownell looks at Laval East, which the Liberals are trying to capture from the Bloc Québécois.



Restless at home: "I think the election was very premature"


Mathieu Allard got debuffed the first time he tried to get elected for the Bloc Québécois. Knowing it was electoral suicide, the 27-year-old advertising employee still ran in last year's byelection in Mount Royal—the Montreal Liberal fortress held for years by Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Liberal Irvin Cotler won by a landslide; Allard received only 385 votes. This time out, he faces much better odds in the suburban riding of Laval East, where he is trying to take over from outgoing Bloc MP Maud Deline. "It will be close," he says, campaigning in a poorer section of the middle-class riding. On the steps of the tiny bungalow, Allard makes his pitch with phrases that strike a nationalist chord. And, he tells voters, "You know you have a choice between the candidate of Jean Chrétien—and me, who grew up here."

The Prime Minister appears to play a prominent role in the battle for Laval East, just north of Montreal and with about 80,000 voters, the vast majority of them francophone. At Allard's campaign, several residents make unflattering comments about Chrétien. Granted, Allard is in sympathetic territory: the handful of people he needs either support the Bloc or are leaving that way. But even as a nearby shopping centre, several Liberal and undecided voters express little affection for Chrétien. "I wish he would abdicate for Finance Minister Paul Martin, and that would happen," says outcast André Desjard, 63.

Laval East features a mix of modest bungalows, sporty new buildings and upscale homes. It is one of 33 Quebec ridings where the federalist vote split in the

1997 election, paving the way for a Bloc victory. Laval liberals are hoping the Conservatives' downward slide will swing that party's supporters over to them, by last but not least, the only campaign posters belonged to Allard or Liberal candidate Carole-Marie Allard. "I think the riding is really divided between the Bloc and federalists," says the Liberal's Allard, 51, a lawyer and former Radio-Canada journalist. "I think I can rely the federalists."

Allard's House does not expect Terry voters to simply jump ship to the Liberals. House, 36, a vice-president with a commercial brokerage firm, recently agreed to run for the Tories. He commands that Quebec voters object to the opportunity behind Chrétien's early election call. As for the Bloc, he says, the party leaves many Quebecers with the impression that it is "just guys who are trying to buy themselves a job for another four years." Allard thinks he can snap benefits if Terry Lester Joe Clark remains his "very strong campaign." But he is candid about his chances. "Do I expect to win? Do I feel it's worthwhile for me to invest money and all my time into this?" he asks. "For now, no."

Many voters are apathetic. Yvo Kukan, 65, a retired engineer, voted for the Bloc in 1997 but now questions the party's usefulness. "It doesn't really interest me," he says of the campaign. "I think the election was very premature." David, meanwhile, a suburban Liberal voter, is enthusiastic about the prospects facing her. "I'll vote for the Liberals, but as a vote against the Bloc—that's all," she says. But she laments the negative aspect of her choice: "It's not pleasant to vote like that." 



POPULATION	396,546
CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP	58.4%
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$51,254
MOTHER TONGUE	
French	83.4%
Other	12.8%
English	3.7%
RELIGION	
Catholic	92.9%
Protestant	3.2%
No affiliation	2.6%
Other	1.3%

1997 ELECTION RESULTS	
Maud Deline (BQ)	38.9%
Mathieu Perron (Lib)	32.1%
Yves Desjardins (PC)	28.2%
Peter Gosselin (NDP)	1.3%
VOTER TURNOUT	73.5%

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Election 2000

Divisions Over Health Care

Would you be in favour of a two-tier health-care system?

Election polls consistently rank health care as voters' No. 1 concern, so it is no surprise that everyone jumped in on this one. Last week, statements by some senior people in the Canadian Alliance led to speculation the party would support a universal public system enhanced by private clinics for those willing to pay more. The Liberals, NDP and Conservatives all condemned the Alliance for proposing a two-tier system. But it is, as Prime Minister Jean Chrétien claimed, the defining issue of the Nov. 27 election campaign? The informal *Maclean's* survey provides some interesting insights.

Those questioned, in fact, were pretty equally divided on the question. Some



Valenzani is in favour of federal standards

of those in favour of a two-tier system said they were merely being pragmatic—it already exists. Noel Louise Bussie, a 40-year-old bookkeeper in Lével, Que. ("We already benefit from it at certain levels such as blood tests.") Others wanted certain protections in place. "If I improved the public system by firing up associates, then I would support it," said Alysia Akonik, 31, an English-as-second-language teacher in Calgary. Bob Strye, 45, a financial consultant in Halifax, drew a parallel to cutbacks in education. "Since they chopped the music programs at the school, I'm paying for private lessons for my kids and if I could get test results faster, I'd be willing to pay for them."

Those who objected to a two-tier system insisted it would be un-Canadian. Al Yac, 66, a martial arts/physical education professor in Halifax, described such a system as "a home show in the making." He added that the current health-care system "is one of the things that make Canada great." Brad Hirschmeyer, 25, a small-business owner in Markham, Ont., who has travelled widely, agreed. "Maybe it isn't perfect," he said, "but anyone who complains about our health care should just go to a Third World country and see how lucky we are."

Would you trust your provincial government with the power to maintain national standards?

This seems to be where the Alliance plaintiffs, which pledges to give the provinces more say, is more vulnerable to attack. The provinces currently have responsibility for administering the Canada Health Act, while the federal government is responsible for setting and ensuring national standards. And that is exactly the way all the respondents, with the exception of those from Quebec (who felt their provincial government was doing a good job) want it.

Rick Valenzani, 65, a retired public-health administrator in Calgary, who advocates the federal government has a key role to play. "What's the use of

having a country if you are going to have 10 different standards throughout it?" he asked. "It doesn't make any sense to me." Linda Spink, 38, a Web designer in Vancouver who is highly critical of the B.C. NDP government, also does not want to see provincial powers expanded. "They couldn't handle it," she added. "There's got to be somebody to regulate them."

Which party can best protect medicare?

This resulted in a near draw between the Liberals and the NDP—and the latter might have fared better if more voters thought they could form the government. "The NDP cares more about medicare than anyone else," said Keith Thurgood, 49, co-owner of a Markham-based marketing consultation and design firm, "but I don't think they are capable of protecting it in the Liberals."

Burton Wickham with John DeMott in Halifax, Brenda Benwell in Lével, Susan McCallister in Markham, Brian Brecken in Calgary and Ken MacQueen in Vancouver

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Notes from the Edge

Edited by Anthony Wilson-Smith

Memo to Stock: 'nice guys finish....'

Canadian Alliance strategies are unhappy with campaign co-chairman Jason Kenney. The 32-year-old Alberta MP is reportedly mused about the need for "choices" in the health-care system last week, finding voters from the party would create a two-tier system in which the wealthy could pay for faster, better care. The speaker only shared when the Liberals attacked their flat book, deflecting attention from their remarks. "People are really questioning why Kenney would go there," says an experienced Alliance adviser. Still, Stockwell Day is reluctant to discipline Kenney, a key supporter during the party leadership race earlier this year.

Meanwhile, the personal debate over the Alliance's basic strategy—the so-called agenda of respect—rages on. Maclean has learned that campaign strategy director Rod Love, campaign co-chairman Peter White and communications adviser Rick Anderson have advocated hard-hitting ads that bludgeon voters if Jean Chrétien deserves another term. But Day is unwilling to resort to such personal attacks. Election strategists say such ads could focus attention on a vulnerable Liberal issue—their early election call, three years and less than six months into a five-year term. Some Liberals concede that if the public equates that with arrogance on Chrétien's part, it could tip the balance in key areas such as rural Ontario. "The Liberals have run a stupid campaign with warmed-over porridge in our platform," says a Liberal insider. "But the Alliance has been running a vanilla-style campaign. If they get tough, they still have a chance to beat us."

Mary Joann

Say, are you the Real Slim Shady?

Jean Chrétien and Stockwell Day are Bruce guys, while Joe Clark and Alexa McDonough prefer Christina. That's among the findings of a MuchMusic questionnaire sent to the four leaders. Their responses (or those sent back under their names):

Who is the Real Slim Shady and what do you think of his music?

Chrétien: I don't know—so let's ask the people: "Will the Real Slim Shady please stand up?"

Clark: The Real Slim Shady is Eminem. As to his music—I wouldn't use it as a campaign song.

Day: I am not a fan of Eminem. His lyrics promote domestic violence.

McDonough: It's Eminem. I have never listened to a full song, but it's really not my thing.

Which video would you request on MuchMusic?

Chrétien: The Tragically Hip, *Ahead by a Century*.

Clark: Treaspen, *Raise a Little Hell*.

Day: U2, *Beautiful Day*.

McDonough: ARIA, *Take a Chance on Me*.

Here is the tally from the second week of the Maclean's Web census. Got your vote at www.macleans.ca. The question:

Which party leader do you think would make the best prime minister?

Stockwell Day	40%
Jean Chrétien	31%
Joe Clark	12%
Alexa McDonough	11%
Gilles Duceppe	8%

Note: This is not a scientific poll based on the customary random sample.

The PM:
Toronto's favourite

It's hardly a mystery, but Jean Chrétien leads the field when it comes to choosing the person best suited to be prime minister. In a new poll provided to Maclean's, Research Research Group finds that the incumbent is viewed as the best choice by 36 per cent of Canadians. Twenty-three per cent prefer Stockwell Day, followed by Joe Clark (eight per cent), Alexa McDonough (six) and Gilles Duceppe (four). One in 10 respondents rejected all leads and 15 per cent responded "don't know."

There are significant regional differences. The PM is regarded most highly in Toronto (50 per cent), in Ontario as a whole (48) and Atlantic Canada (40). In contrast, Day is preferred by Albertans (44 per cent) and British Columbians (34), especially those in Vancouver (36 per cent). (The Envision figures are based on interviews with 1,351 eligible voters in a highly tracking survey. The national results are derived to be accurate within 2.7 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.)

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Backroom Boys

By Ken MacQueen in Vancouver

Until their arrests on Oct. 27 in connection with Canada's worst act of terrorism and mass murder, the two suspects in the bombing more than 15 years ago of Air India Flight 182 were formidable players at every level of mainstream B.C. politics from attending a fund-raising dinner for Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to a recent fund-raising event for Surrey-Centre Canadian Alliance MP Gurmant Grewal, murder suspect and millionaire Vancouver businessman Rupinder Singh Malik, 53, was especially valued in political back-rooms for his alleged ability to mobilize fundamentalist Sikh support and money for a range of parties and candidates. His co-accused, Ajit Singh Bagri, 51, a millworker from the interior city of Kamloops, also wielded considerable clout. Political insiders say Bagri and others recently helped defeat a moderate Sikh candidate seeking the local provincial Liberal nomination. According to Sukhdev Singh Sandhu, a Liberal riding organizer in Merritt, B.C., Bagri delivered about 100 delegates to the meeting who, Sandhu believes, voted en masse against his moderate candidate, Dr. Gur Singh. "Bagri was playing cards with us," Sandhu says. "but didn't turn out to be on our side."

Last week, some fundamentalists—who abuse the accused men's goal of carving an independent Sikh state of Kishan from India—were trying to help in Bagri and Malik's defence. The two face what will be a complex, months-long trial on charges of first-degree murder of all 329 passengers and crew aboard the jumbo jet, as well as the murders of two baggage handlers killed when a second bomb detonated on the same day, June 23, 1985, at the airport in Niihau, Japan. Bagri is also charged with the attempted murder in 1986 of the late *Asahi* newspaper publisher Ties Singh Hayer, an outspoken moderate Sikh, who was assassinated 20 years later in his Surrey home. While the R.C.M.P. investigation continues, moderate Sikhs, "liberated" by the arrests, as one put it, condemned



Malik, Bagri (right) place themselves (below) in complex narratives about

The suspects in the Air India bombing were powerful political players

the influence they say the two men and their fundamentalist colleagues have had in the Indo-Canadian community. "People can talk freely now, without any fear," said Balwant Singh Gill, the moderate president of Surrey's large Gurm Narak temple. "It makes a difference when somebody is such a powerful man on the street—or when he is behind bars."

Gill has been at loggerheads with Malik before. As a moderate, he was involved in the struggle for control over the Gurm Narak temple, run, as so many Sikh temples were until the mid-1990s, by fundamentalists. Gill says that while Malik's name was whispered for years as an Air India suspect, it did not stop him from gaining respectability and clout from his political activities. "As far as political parties are concerned, there are two things—we all know that—votes and votes," he said of Malik's ability to generate funds and



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*Rahmaw Singh Gill:
People can talk freely now*

political support. "He did this to every political party, no matter which party came to power; he used them. Money can buy everything these days."

Malkh's support can cross all levels of government—municipal, provincial and federal. From Singh Virwag, a B.C. businessman and federal Liberal power broker, confirmed that Malkh attended at least one fund-raising dinner for Chrétien, although he said it was in Malkh's capacity as president of the Khalsa Credit Union, a financial institution with some 16,000 largely Sikh members. Virwag said he is aware of any attempt by Malkh to exert influence on the federal Liberals. "The Prime Minister wouldn't know if he bumped into Mr. Malkh," he said. As for Malkh's ethnic affiliation? "I don't think he has a party," Virwag added.

Sukh Sandhu, another prominent Liberal, is less sanguine about the role Malkh and other Sikh fundamentalists have played in politics. "Their sole reason for getting involved in mainstream politics was for their lobby efforts for their cause," Sandhu, a Delta, B.C., real estate developer and past organization chairman of the Liberal Party of Canada in British Columbia, and fundamentalists like Malkh used perceived political clout to build their stature and business connections, which "only added to their animosities in the community." Not were Malkh's or Bagri's political activities curtailed when it became known in the Sikh community that they were under investigation by the RCMP's Air India task force. "Everybody was aware," says Sandhu. "Politicians were aware, but everyone turned a blind eye because, 'you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours.' They served each other's purposes. Selfish purposes. And that is wrong."

During the 1980s and much of the 1990s, fundamentalist Sikhs were in control of many of British Columbia's public Sikh temples, which, as many members of the Indo-Canadian community and RCMP investigators suspect,

bankrolled political forays and the fight for Khalistan. Moderates opposed to them were often subjected to intimidation. Among them was lawyer and current B.C. Premier Ujjal Dosanjh, who was seriously injured in a 1985 attack by a man wielding an iron bar after he publicly opposed the creation of Khalistan by violent means. More recently, fundamentalists tried to thwart Dosanjh's campaign for the NDP leadership by throwing delegates to other candidates. Moderate Churn Gill was targeted up in 1986 as a temple after he condemned Sikh violence in a letter published in a local newspaper. His attempt in the early 1990s to win a provincial NDP nomination in a Surrey riding was scuttled by fundamentalist forces—in part, he says, through a whisper campaign that he was not a good Sikh. "They used a Sikh temple to do the campaign photocopying and to do the phoning for meetings and stuff," says Gill. Malkh did the same, according to Gill, executive director of an investigative support organization, drawing political ground troops from the independent orthodox Khalsa School in Surrey, which he leads through a charitable organization, as well as from fundamentalist temples. "In their philosophy, House of God and politics can't be separated," says Gill.

When moderates finally took over control of Surrey's Gurm Nanak temple in 1996, president Rahmaw Singh Gill says they found virtually no financial records for the past 10 years, leading to unproven speculation that the mosque, with its 31,000 voting members, had inadvertently financed the fight for Khalistan. The temple was ransacked and heavily mortgaged—where a decade of donations went, Gill can only guess. "I can say one thing," he says. "The first year we took over this temple, in 1996, we paid out all the mortgage, \$848,000 in one year. And we did some construction work. In the 10 years before, nothing had been done to the temple: no construction, no repairs, no renovation."

For many Sikhs, the stress of Bagri and Malkh, more than 15 years after the bombing, held significance beyond that long overdue step towards rehabilitation and resolution. The charges and the RCMP claim that men avowed as fundamentalists caused a fear that justice in Canada was something that could be bought or drowned by power and political influence. Until then, Churn Gill was not the only Sikh asking the troubling question: "Why did this investigation go so long?" ■

The Canadian Way

By Ken Dryden

A native of Hamilton, Ken Dryden, 53, had a spectacular career as the Montreal Canadiens goaltender in the 1970s. Now president of the Toronto Maple Leafs, he is also a lawyer and author. This essay is adapted from "Footing a Way," the Charles R. Bronfman Lecture in Canadian Studies, which Dryden delivered last week at the University of Ottawa.

When I was one year old, we moved to the new Toronto suburb of Etobicoke. Those were exciting times. The war was over, the economy was booming. Lives that had been put on hold for many years were now ready to be lived. The old world of Europe was broken. Canada was where the future would be made, and it was in places like Etobicoke that we would realize it. We felt eternally privileged. I was proud of Canada. We were proud of Canada.

For me, the United States was a place of fascination. So exciting, so at the centre of things. The baseball games, the college football games with their wonderfully odd traditions, the people who filled our conversations—Kennedy, Eisenhower, Marilyn Monroe, Elton Presley. When I graduated from high school, as my friends went off to Western, McMaster or the University of Toronto, I wanted someplace different. I went to Cornell in Ithaca, N.Y.

I loved those four years. I even thought about staying in the United States. It also became more Canadian than I had ever been, forever reminding my unimpressed classmates of any and all things Canadian. I was accepted at law school in Boston, and made plans to attend, but decided to come home. I wanted to continue playing hockey, I said to myself. But there was something else as well.

I spent the next year in Winnipeg, beginning law school, and playing for the Canadian national team. A year later, I was in Montreal and wanted. We lived in Montreal for most



The 21st century will belong to conciliators, to listeners, to learners

were the words: "We seasons government." And 17,000 people who for years had been sitting side by side, Canadian fans together, now knew something about one another they hadn't known before—and nothing would ever be the same again.

I played three more seasons, then retired from hockey. We moved to Ottawa where I took my bar exams, then to Cambridge, England, where I began writing my first book. Again, I loved it there. I thought about staying. Again, I spent the year at that smug Canadian voice—"Oh, speaking of the Booker Prize." I'd say, "Alice Munro, one of the winners, she's a Canadian, you know?" "Oh," they'd say. Margaret Atwood, Don McKay, Oscar Peterson, Donald Sutherland, Morgan Riddle—it went on and on. And suddenly I knew it would go on and on. I couldn't stop being Canadian.

of the next 10 years. As a hockey player, there was no better time to play, no better arena to play in, no more knowledgeable and demanding fans.

On Nov. 15, 1976, there was a Quebec provincial election. There was also a hockey game at the Montreal Forum. The game was different that night, so did the 17,000 people there were really somewhere else. The early returns flashed on the message board, the Liberals ahead by a little, the PQ by a little—nothing was clear. Then the gap widened. A new buzz entered the arena, of despair for some, of hope for others. Then suddenly on the message board



Dryden strikes his classic pose at the Canadian one, with wife Lynda, children Sarah and Michael (opposite): "Hockey makes one humble"

So we went home. And in the 19 years since, we have never left. I'd like to live other places for awhile, but Canada is home. It's where I want to be. Like Joe, I am a Canadian.

It can seem a mixed legacy. On one hand, Canada's enviable peace, prosperity and stability, our opportunity to make and remake ourselves, on the other, our conscience as the nearly invincible and often unloving sibling of a superpower. It is so much easier for Canadians to see ourselves in what we are not. Our say-so often focus on our "not" man—clannishness, polarization, racism. On our "not" personality—a little dull and selfless, without much ambition, the person who knows every complaint with a shy smile and a "yes, but," knowing in his bones that somewhere else in the world there must be something better. Whose way isn't to keep solo into the

enrichment of the unknown, but to move ahead with others, to find accommodation. To compromise.

Typically Canadian, our say-so often say. And we nod. But it isn't. Ask an Australian, or an Argentine, ask a Moroccan, Dane or Dutchman. Ask someone from Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, St. Louis or Denver. Ask anyone who in his own world can't control, die, or be pained to be the biggest and best. What our written and unspoken say is "typically Canadian" is really far from the world. It's not a unique flaw in our character. It doesn't assign us to a second-rate destiny. In our now more global world, in fact, smallness is becoming everybody's reality. And knowing how to live with smallness is becoming an ever more important skill.

We also live with the legacy of division. It is division, not primarily based on language and culture, but on our sheer size, and a division that is insupportable to a large U.S. population. It is division that neither railroad, nor telecommunications, nor government policy has been able to bridge, nor will. Canada may be the most decentralized country in the world, but the most naturally divided, it must be. We have succeeded in the past because we have understood that about ourselves, because we've put all people because we have to be. We often disappoint ourselves because we can't live up to the flag-waving, unified ideal of nationhood that the United States and Britain have put in our heads. But unity is often an illusion of circumstance. Change the circumstance, and the illusion is gone. Everywhere in the world since 1945, circumstances have been changing. Globally, we've been looking for new structures, new understandings to see us into the future, new arenas, but we're not doing very well. Yet in Canada, we have been living this dividedness, and we've found a way to see it as an advantage. We have

been able to manage division, encourage controversy, accept difference and achieve prosperity all without bloodshed.

We are good at dealing with people who aren't like us. Our size and climate—our divisions—have made us so. By contrast, life is not going to be easy for the United States in the increasingly globalized future, where nobody has the power, and everybody is small.

Hockey may seem an odd game for Canadians to embrace. It is not dull, insensitive or mean. It is certainly not a refuge for "peace, order and good government." Yet, it is a deeply Canadian game. It is a game beyond control. Those who play hockey know, the team that wins, don't agonize at the loss of perfection when the clock begins. They accept what they've got, and gather up the pieces and put them to-

Canada Essay

gether as far and as well as they can. They find a way. Hockey is a "find a way" game.

America's game used to be baseball. Now it is football. It appeals to an America that is looking for certainty. For control. In football, the biggest and the strongest should win. Hockey makes one humble. It will never be America's game.

Canada, I think, is a "find a way" country. We don't have the luxury of charting a path and getting to the end we expect. Things happen along our way that we aren't big enough or strong enough to control. It has always been so. Our climate, our landscape, our proximity in the United States; we have had to accept what is beyond us and make the best of it. So we find a new path. It takes a little longer. It doesn't get us quite where we wanted to go. But it's a good path. And the next time it gets blocked, we know what to do. We know we will find a way.

"Find-a-way-ism," I believe, is Canada's one true ideology. Not liberalism, conservatism, socialism or any other. In this country, we don't have the luxury of binding ourselves to rigid ideology. We need to use whatever tool we can find. The fed-



Air Canada CEO: "Like Joe, I am a Canadian"

eral Liberals governed this country for most of the past century because they understood that about us. As the other parties cling, righteously to ideology, the Liberals used conservative or socialist tools—whatever a situation called for. The federal Liberals are a "find a way" party.

The 21st century, I believe, will be a "find a way" century. Ideologies will matter less.

Naked power will have less impact. "Compromise" may be a pejorative word now, but what it represents—the need, ability and willingness to find common ground of some sort no matter how imperfect—is essential. The 21st century will belong to the conciliators. To the listeners. To the learners. To people who know that whatever they are sure of today will not be right tomorrow.

In 1904, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier declared that the 20th century would belong to Canada. He was wrong. Canada wasn't big enough or strong enough for an age of power. But Laurier may have spoken 100 years too soon. This century will not belong to Canada, but it will belong to the attitudes, values and understandings that are our legacy. ■

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Canada History

A Canadian cavalry on wheels

The cyclist battalion served at great risk

By Sue Ferguson

Their exploits are the stuff of legend. They are seen at Vimy Ridge, Ypres and Passchendaele. Seventy-five of them won decorations of valour and 264 died in action. Their 1,138 members, drawn from across Canada, quickly established a reputation as soldiers on wheels with a defiant attitude. But few today have ever heard of the Canadian Corps Cyclist Battalion, the First World War cavalry-on-wheels that pedalled over the muddy fields and cobblestone roads of Europe. Now, thanks to the efforts of Jim Hall, a mild representative and strident currier from Godfrey, Ont., their stories have surfaced once again.

The amazing heroes of the war, the cy-

clists mostly performed unglamorous duties, but did them at great personal risk. Infantrymen were generally in greater danger than the cyclists, they had hostile fire on the front for about two weeks at a time; the cyclists, on the other hand, were posted to the front for up to six weeks before being relieved.

Mostly they delivered messages from headquarters and between troops, surveyed war zones, laid telephone cables, dug trenches—and buried the dead. But even the cyclists more remarkable feats have been overlooked. "No body knows," says Hall, "that a cyclist was the first Canadian to cross into Germany's Gasnet W. Durham from Regina." Or that another Canadian cyclist, perhaps, received a surrender from the German imperial family.

Officers of the 4th Division of Cyclists in Toronto in March, 1916; an elite reputation and a defiant attitude

Hall's grandfather, Clarence Darr, was part of Durham's bicycle group that led a division of the Allies in the final push to defeat the Germans. A native of Warton, Ont., Darr was 27 when he quit his shipping job at the Swift meat-packing plant in Toronto, six months before the Allies' march began on July 9, 1918. He found himself, says Hall, "right in the eye of the action." Although Hall, now 64, recalls his grandfather complaining about the fantastic noise of the bombs, it wasn't until 20 years after Darr's death in 1968 that Hall took an active interest in the family's history—an interest that spawned Canada's largest collection of cyclist business memorabilia. Currently searching for a permanent home, the exhibit features more than 100 pieces, including the original drawing of the cyclist's insignia, numerous photographs, medals and other mementoes. No original bicycles remain, but there is a replica. The exhibit attracted a record 4,000 visitors earlier this year to Godfrey's McCabe House, birthplace of Lt.-Col. John McCabe, the author of *In Flanders Fields*.

Soldiers on bicycles? Arriving in Canada in the 1860s, the two-wheeler spawned a man-cane by the end of the

Cyclist passing
German prisoners
of war, 1917, near



century. Yet its wartime appearance reflected function as much as fashion. First used by the U.S. and British armies, bicycles became a cheap and easy-to-maintain substitute for horses. Bicycles, Hall points out, "don't get thirsty or hungry." Still, the mechanical nature was considerably more awkward than its equine predecessor. Loaded with a rifle, ammunition, bedding, belt, gas mask, trenching tools and other gear, the First World War Canadian-made bicycles weighed 41 kg.

Additional attributes are members of the bicycle corps apart from other fighting men. Cyclists were also, says Desmond Morton, head of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada in Montreal, "supposedly brighter than normal." Chosen for their ability to read maps and survey land, the war veterans were high-school graduates and many had university training.

In the years after the war, veterans of the bicycle corps went on to become company presidents, engineers and politicians. Their roles included a university chancellor, a lieutenant-governor and an Ontario premier.

During the war, they were often at the center of action. On the day the war ended, Nov. 11, 1918—82 years ago this week—a group of cyclists was drifting around the town square in Mers, Belgium, when the German prince Frederick allegedly arrived as part of the treaty-signing party. Frude-ick, the story goes, mistaking cyclist Sgt. Jack Pasquhar from Langham, Sask., for an Allied official of some importance, promptly handed Pasquhar his sword in a symbolic gesture of surrender. Marston, a Canadian military historian of some repute, however, suggests the story must face with "fact. It seems like a stretch," he says. "The Canadians were in Mers, but I've never heard of this incident."

Despite his skepticism, Marston cannot resist boasting his own anecdote of

questionable veracity. It involves the disguised face of fighting cyclist Capt. Tom Kennedy, later Ontario's Conservative premier for seven months between 1948 and 1949. Kennedy moved his team, Merion chimes, during a concert in the south of England. He was among a group of cyclists who, sweeping down a hill, chanced upon a bevy of sunbathers wearing the latest in revealing swimwear. "It was the first women in bathing suits they had ever seen," he says. "The cyclist did a sharp turn right, fell on top of each other and then, allegedly, he and Kennedy damaged his face."

Not all stories, however, are as light-hearted. At the front, cyclists regularly faced down German bullets. "When living a heavy gale into place, Eric started to weep [sobbed]," reads the July 21, 1916, entry in cyclist Norman Sand's

diary. It continues: "We held on until the first bullet hit the end of the gender. Everyone's legs and two of [us] landed in a shell hole filled with water. Got soaked. Glozier didn't make it and the team landed on his stomach. He ended to yell like a mad pig with the Germans only 50 yards away [1916] pushed his head under the water to quiet him until we got [our] bearings. Three of our men got hit going back at Shropshire. Connor [snuggled back]. Sands, later a director at the T. Eaton Co. Ltd., received 24 shrapnel wounds at Passchendaele, ending his tour of duty in 1917. As a result, says his son David, a Toronto lawyer, Sands rarely rode a bicycle after the war.

When Norman Sands died in 1973, at 83, there were still some 75 cyclists alive. But by 1992, only two remained, Dick Ellis and Billy Richardson. On June 6 of that year, the duo gathered in Ellis' Toronto apartment to carry out a long-awaited plan: in 1937, for their annual reunion, the cyclist had bought a bottle of Pol Roger champagne, agreeing that, when their numbers dwindled to two, these last survivors would uncork the champagne and toast all their former colleagues. Ellis and Richardson, says Hall who was present, downed glasses of the flat and musty champagne before turning to a second, more possible, bottle. "So ends an epoch in our lives," intones Ellis on a scratchy cassette tape he made of the event. He was the last to die; in 1996 at age 106, leaving some of his effects—and many stories—in Hall, whose collection serves as a lasting reminder of these mostly forgotten men. ■



Ellis, Richardson in 1992, epoch ends

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Canada Notes



Death stalks a special day for kids

On Take Our Kids to Work Day, Amanda Pratt (top left) and Rob Falkowski, both 24, were killed when the utility vehicle they were riding in crashed at the John Deere plant in Welland, Ont. The day was also marked by tragedy in Edmonton, where Alex Blusichetta, 65, and another man died in a construction accident witnessed by Blusichetta's 18-year-old grandson, who was with him at work.

A 'humbler and gentler' Thatcher

Defence witnesses at a special parole hearing for Colin Thatcher, convicted in 1984 for the brutal murder of his ex-wife, JoAnn Wilson, described the 62-year-old son of former Saskatchewan premier Ross Thatcher as caring and compassionate. Conveying earlier testimony about Thatcher's arrogance and lack of remorse, Ray Paul Polonowski of Saskatchewan's Weyburn Alliance Church told the Moore Jav, Sask., jury how the former provincial cabinet minister has changed. "Humbler and gentler is how I would describe him,"

said Polonowski, who has befriended the convicted murderer.

Wilson was brutally beaten at the garage of her Regina home in 1983 before being shot in the head. Thatcher, who was sentenced to life in prison with no chance of parole for 25 years, is applying for early release under the so-called fair-chance clause. Two of his three children also testified on his behalf, giving victim-impact statements on how they miss their father. Earlier, a Crown psychiatrist told the jury that Thatcher's refusal to acknowledge his part in the vicious killing of his former wife leaves "black holes" in his psychological profile, and makes it impossible to predict whether he is likely to reoffend.

Neighbour arrested for child murder

A 23-year-old man who lived in the same suburban Vancouver apartment complex where slain 10-year-old Heather Thomas was last seen has been charged with first-degree murder. Heather disappeared while visiting her father in Surrey, B.C., on Oct. 1. Three weeks later, her body was found floating in a provincial park lake, 45 km away. Her abduction led to a massive public search, with more than 1,600 people involved.

Shuffling the deck

In advance of a May spring election, B.C. Premier Ujjal Dosanjh, whose New Democrats are foundering in the polls, shook up his cabinet. Among those to depart was veteran Andrew Parer, who served as attorney general and, before that, finance minister, but who has told Dosanjh he will not seek re-election. New faces at the table include Grand Chief Ed John of the Tsawwassen First Nation, who does not have a seat in the provincial legislature, but will take on the key children-and-families portfolio.

Guilty of fraud

Former Saskatchewan MLA Ralph Korman, the last Tory charged in the financial scandal during the Conservative regime of premier Grant Devine in the 1990s, was convicted of fraud, theft and breach of trust for illegally diverting \$450,000 from the Conservative caucus to a private bank account. That brought to 16 the number of provincial Tories involved in the scandal, which saw millions diverted from public funds into private Conservative coffers. Devine himself has never been implicated in the fraud.

Satisfied with safety

According to Statistics Canada, 91 per cent of Canadians are satisfied with their level of personal safety, even though one in four reported having been the victim of a crime. In a similar survey conducted in 1993, StatsCan found that 86 per cent of Canadians felt safe, while 23 per cent had been crime victims.

Guns denied

Gillian Goss, 45, lost her appeal of an 18-month sentence for obstruction of justice. In 1995, Goss, a single mother of two, had an affair with accused murderer Peter Gill while she was sitting on the jury hearing his case (Gill and his five co-accused were acquitted in that trial). In denying Goss's appeal, Justice Richard Low, one of three British Columbia Court of Appeal judges hearing the case, said Goss "indulged her selfish desires in a way that undermined the fundamental principles of justice."

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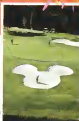
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Ship's Register: The Bahamas

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New Smyrna Beach incorporates small town charm with history, culture, and, of course, brilliant Florida sunshine. This barrier island town is the second-oldest settled city in Florida, and one of the oldest in the United

States. As one of America's top cities for the arts, New Smyrna Beach is home to several art shows and theatres featuring visual and performing arts.

Originally preserved and recently restored turn-of-the-century buildings line the streets of New Smyrna Beach. The shopping districts of Flagler Avenue and Canal Street have received more than \$20 (US) million in renovations in recent years. They are now lined with majestic palm trees, red brick sidewalks and a brand new beach ramp and board walk.

Accommodations available at New Smyrna Beach are tasteful and affordable. The most popular type of accommodation is family size condominiums. Condos are plentiful and are located directly on the ocean or on the Intracoastal Waterway. Visitors also seek accommodations from one of the many hotels, motels, B & Bs or campgrounds.

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Home Away From Home: Florida



Canadians feel right at home in Florida because the annual of engines from blizzard white to a lush chromatic scale means veritable enclaves of fellow countrymen throughout the state. Particularly in areas such as St. Pete's Beach and Hollywood Beach, you'll see the maple leaf welcoming you to the land of wintertime summer.

The beaches with their sun-soaked white sands and playful waters beckon most convincingly, yet Florida offers a tasty menu of opportunities off the beach for culture, history, adventure, recreation, environmental forays, shopping and family pleasures.

Sample the culture: Tarpon Springs has a Greek accent, settled by sponge and chocolate with pastry shops. In northern Florida, the Deep South prevails and you'll find Dixie hospitality, hush puppies and Southern belles. Miami pulses with the rhythms of many lands - Cuba, Jamaica, Brazil and Nicaragua. In none a few Theatres, dance, music and colorful festivals reflect the zealous collision of cultures. The Keys are steeped in Bahamian and Cuban heritage. Tampa's old Latin cigar making district, Ybor City, is another place where they speak cafe leche and black beans 'n' rice. In Hollywood Beach, sidewalk cafes line the beach boardwalk serving crepes and croque monsieurs to its largely French Canadian population.

Explore the history: Conquistadors, pirates, illustrious Gilded Age, showmen, celebrities. Florida has seen them all. St. Augustine, older than Jamestown, begins the tales. Fort St. George Beach speaks of buccannery and local legends. Famous visitors left their magnificent homes throughout the state: Henry Flagler's Whitehall in Palm Beach, John Ringling's Ca'd Ze in Sarasota, Henry Ford and Thomas Edison in Fort Myers, John D. Ding's Wausau in Miami, and Ernest Hemingway in Key West. In their words, they also left us art scene rich with galleries, theaters and museums.

They come, as do visitors today, for the raw nature, for the fishing and wilderness. In modern times, add kayaking, sailing, boating, hiking, surfing, diving, golfing and tennis to the roll call of outdoor activity year-round. Wilderness still stretches beyond the horizon in Everglades National Park, Apalachicola National Forest and a myriad of state and national parks and wildlife preserves. Where else can you snorkel a coral reef in the Keys one day, tee off on a championship golf course in Palm Beach the next, and awesome waves of Sebastian, fish for marlin, or kayak into cool spring waters after that? On the way through your adventures, you'll encounter wildlife galore, from 320-plus species of birds to the endangered manatee, Florida panther and loggerhead sea turtle.

For spectator sports enthusiasts, Florida plays professional baseball, basketball, soccer and hockey in Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, St. Petersburg and Tampa. Home of Super Bowl 2001. Spring baseball season broadcasts major league excitement around the state. For families, Florida is one big playground, holding not only the world's largest sandbox, but theme and amusement parks from Orlando's big scene to the go-kart tracks and water parks of Panama City Beach, Destin and Daytona Beach.

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Canada Notes

Girl Games II

Just like their Olympic counterparts, Canadian female Paralympians stole the show in Sydney, Australia. Even though they made up less than a third of the 162-member team, the women captured half of the medals that Canada won (48 of 95) at the Paralympic Games, which ended on Oct. 29. That spared Canada to its best Paralympics finish, fifth overall in the standings won by the Australians with 148 medals. In the gold-medal count, Canada won 38, fourth overall, ahead of the United States, China and Russia.

Canadians captured more than half of their medals in the pool. One star was Calgary's Jessica Sims, who won all six events she entered. At the conclusion of the Games, Sims, an 18-year-old with a partial left hand who trains with members of the Olympic team, and the plaza to compete in next year's national swim championship for able-bodied athletes. And in four years, she hopes to compete at both the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Stephanie Dixon, a 16-year-old from Caledon, Ont., fared nicely as well, winning four gold medals and two others in Sydney. She too aspires to be a member of the able-bodied team in Athens. "Every young swimmer dreams of making it to the Olympics," she says.

Canadian women were also golden on the track. Moose Jaw, Sask., wheelchair-racer Lisa Parks, 18, won four gold medals and a silver in 100-m to 1,500-m events. Meanwhile, Paralympic veteran 30-year-old Charlene Perleberg dominated in her wheelchair racing events, winning two golds and two silvers.

On the hardwood, the Canadian women's wheelchair basketball team successfully defended its third straight Paralympic title. Team captain Charlene Benoit from Beloeil, Que., had warned before the Games there would be tough competition when she said, "We will have to work hard. No one is going to stand back and say Canada is the best." Clearly, they met the challenge.

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Mysterious Killer

By Stefan Lovgren in Uganda

At first, there are few signs of tragedy in this impoverished town in northern Uganda. Along Gulu's sleepy main street, shopkeepers languish in the doorway of their businesses, waiting for the fine customers of the day. A few insects over, a group of soldiers in fatigues doing its morning exercise runs past a farmer cultivating a small plot of food. But this quiet place is the "hot zone," the epicenter of the latest outbreak of Ebola—one of the deadliest viruses known to man, whose victims suffer an agonizing death when they begin bleeding through every orifice in their body. Since Sept. 17, 83 people have died in the plague that has swept across the region. "We didn't understand Ebola," said Peter Oloren, after his daughter, Alice, was moved into the isolation ward in Gulu's hospital. "But I understand that my daughter is dying."

Virus hunters from around the world battle to contain a deadly outbreak of Ebola

As soon as the epidemic was confirmed, top Ebola experts from around the world, known as virus hunters, packed their equipment and rushed to Gulu, 300 km north of the Ugandan capital, Kampala. In a temporary laboratory inside the vil-

lage's main hospital, known as the "Hot Room," scientists from the Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), dressed head-to-toe in protective gear, immediately began examining patients for any signs of Ebola. In addition to the 83 deaths, they confirmed another 183 cases, including one last week in the town of Mitumba, in southwestern Uganda. The population has reason to be afraid. In one graveyard in the village of Rwot Akelo near Gulu, mounds of earth cover one fresh grave—all belonging to a single family. "There is no one living here now," said Odora Samira, a local woman, pointing to a house. "They all died from this Ebola. All of them."

In the courtyard of St. Mary's Lacer Hospital in Gulu, relatives wait patiently to find out if their loved ones will also die. To enter the isolation ward, visitors must wear a face mask, rubber boots and gloves, and



Burying an Ebola victim. "There's no one living here now"

be sprayed with disinfectant. Inside, a nurse calls out the names of the patients, but no one is strong enough to answer back.

There is no cure for the highly contagious virus, which is transmitted through contact with infected body fluids. It first struck dramatically in 1976 in Zaire, now Congo, and Sudan, killing 367 people. And in 1995, 245 people were also killed by Ebola in the thick jungles of Kikwit, Congo. But this is the first time the virus has struck Uganda. Scientists have identified a strain called Ebola-Sudan, the same strain that first appeared in Sudan—raising speculation that the virus may have been carried to Uganda by rebels known as the Lord's Resistance Army. The guerrillas, who stage cross-border raids from bases in nearby Sudan, are fighting to oust a Christian state from Ugandan territory.

Even if the virus is similar to the one that hit Sudan in 1976, scientists still have a greater mystery to solve. "Where has the virus been hiding?" asks Scott Dowell of the CDC. Dowell and other experts speculate that it could have remained alive in other animal species, insects or even plants before emerging to attack humans. "It's in there in the forest," says Dr. Mike Ryan, a member of the emergency response team from the World Health Organization. "We don't know where it is, we don't know its natural site."

In previous outbreaks, Ryan's team found that some victims had come in contact with sick chimpanzees while hunting them for food. "We go back and we find one person," says Ryan, "who was working in the forest and who comes out ill and infects his own family." But chimpanzees did die from the virus, he notes, so they must have caught it from another animal.

The mystery surrounding the killer virus has contributed to a morbid fascination with it. The book *The Hot Zone*, a 1994 best-seller by Richard Preston, re-

Scientists examine a body's reason to be afraid

examined how Ebola turned up in research institutes in a laboratory in Reston, Va. Ebola was also the subject of *Outbreak*, a 1995 movie starring Dustin Hoffman in which his character leads a group of American scientists to Africa in an attempt to stop the spread of the disease. "Unsettling," says Ryan, "and a lack of knowledge about what may come around the corner create a strong fear of the disease."

How did the virus travel to Gulu? Scientists are now mapping the current epidemic to discover its origin. So far, the index case, or first confirmed case, was Esther Awele, a 36-year-old woman who was found dead on Sept. 17 in her tiny mud hut in Kabale Oporung, a village near Gulu. In accordance with local tradition, her body was kept in the hut for two days to allow friends and family to visit it. Then, her family straitly buried the body and washed their hands in a communal basin as an act of family unity. Soon, one of Esther's daughters died. Another child followed a few days later, then her grandmother, her husband and three other family members. A farmer who came to the funeral, Albino Cimo, spent 10 days in the hospital before he, too, died.

Experts are also focusing on the mysterious death of a local doctor more than a month before Awele passed away. The physician, who was in his late 20s, appeared to be in good health, but he suddenly fell ill with a fever. He died two days later, on Aug. 8, at St. Mary's Lacer Hospital where he had practiced. Scientists believe that if the young doctor in fact died from Ebola, he could have been infected while treating a patient and, in turn, passed on the disease to others. Experts are searching hospital records for evidence of who that initial patient might have been.

The greatest fear is that someone who is in contact of the virus will leave the infected area and start a new epidemic. This happened during an outbreak in Gabon in 1996 that killed 45 people. A man who had been in the country traveled to South Africa, where he fell ill and checked into a hospital with flu-like symptoms. The doctors didn't know they were dealing with Ebola, and while the man survived, the nurse who treated him did not.

There is no ban on travel to Uganda, but neighboring countries like Kenya and Tanzania are screening for Ebola at their borders by checking for physical symptoms. "We're looking," said Dr. General

A VILE SCOURGE

Since it was first noticed in northern Zaire, now Congo, Ebola has become one of the deadliest viral diseases. Ebola has its origins in the jungles of Africa and Asia and kills up to 90 per cent of its victims within two weeks of its contracting it. The disease is transmitted by direct contact with the blood, bodily secretions or semen from infected persons. Initial symptoms include fever, muscle pain, headache and sore throat, followed by violent vomiting, bloody diarrhea, blindness and finally bleeding from all orifices. The virus attacks almost everything in the body except bone, destroying the immune system and causing internal organs to liquefy.

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World

Rodier, the World Health Organization's leader in Gulu, "for the one that may get away." Health workers continue to fix out to remote villages and towns in search of new cases. But despite the horrific nature of the disease, Red Cross volunteers find that many villagers remain skeptical. "Some people don't believe it is Ebola," says Francis Oboro, the Red Cross volunteer leader. "They say it is witchcraft."

Staff with the Toronto-based Canadian Physicians for Aid and Relief have also been working in the crowded refugee camps near Gulu, which contain nearly 490,000 people fleeing the invading Lord's Resistance Army. Such camps can be a breeding ground for disease and Givov Sibiru, program manager in Gulu for the group, and they are trying to educate people about the dangers of Ebola. "It was really important," said Sibiru, "to get people to wear protective clothing, especially when preparing the dead for burial."

Even as the death toll mounts, there is some reason for optimism. Recent research has raised hopes for a vaccine. Scientists have uncovered a protein produced by the Ebola virus that disrupts the cells that line blood vessel walls. They believe this protein could be responsible for the severe bleeding in those infected with the disease. Blocking the action of the protein might be one way to treat Ebola infection, by giving the body time to fight off the virus before the patient bleeds to death.

The Ugandan outbreak may also offer the best opportunity yet to unravel the mysteries surrounding the virus. The country has a good health-care system, and with the help of Ugandan health officials, scientists have created a database to track the origin of the epidemic. "This is our chance to learn more about the disease," said Dowell. "We only see this virus every four years. So it's incumbent upon us to try to learn more about the disease now." That just may help solve the riddle of Ebola—and ease the terror in Gulu.

With Catherine Roberts in Toronto



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Andrew Phillips

The eternal campaigner

Talk to Americans for any length of time in this season of unappealing political choices, and before you know it they're going on about Bill Clinton. There are the ones who already laid to rest him (though he still has 2½ months left in the White House), the ones who can't wait to see the back of him, and the ones who just enjoy watching him run rings around his opponents. But they can't help talking about him. "Gotta give the guy credit," Ted Carter and the other week as he emerged from the Cahaba Country Restaurant ("Gator nuggets, \$6.95") on Highway 98 near Borro, Fla. "He's got that thing, that magic thing."

That's surely one reason Americans seemed so rapid as they prepared to vote this week. It's an age when the President has become the Celebrity-in-Chief, the lead character in the longest-running, national entertainment, they're about to trade in a genuine star for a bit player—on Al Gore or a George W. Bush. Clinton (like Ronald Reagan before him) knew how to make the most of his office, putting all his emotions on display. The American presidency for better or worse, has been thoroughly Clintonized. Every time Gore and Bush, except on Leno or Letterman or Oprah, they pay tribute to the master of calculated soul-bearing. "Love him or hate him, admire him or resent him, we felt we knew Bill," is columnist Barry DeRamus wrote recently in *The Detroit News*. "And one reason the Gore-Bush contest hasn't caught fire is that many of us are suffering from Clinton withdrawal."

The man with the biggest Clinton problem, of course, has been Gore. As he struggled through the campaign's final weeks, the most widely debated question in Washington was what's the deal with Al and Bill? Gore's people let it be known through the media that the old animosity about the vice-president being just like that with the President were now impossible. The new line is that Gore wasn't actually all that close to his boss. There weren't much like each other, went the stories, even their college-age daughters never really hit it off. Gore stuck loyally by Clinton through the impeachment drama, but by this new version he was mostly swayed by the President's slow dance with Monica Lewinsky.

All that made it excruciatingly difficult for Gore to take advantage of his best card: the Clinton administration's stellar

record in managing the economy and taming a host of social ills. For weeks, even as he waded in the polls, Gore talked more about the things left undone in the past eight years than all the things that Clinton (and he) accomplished. They appeared together just once this fall—at a funeral—and the word "Clinton" hardly ever passed Gore's lips. It came to a mild shock at a Gore rally late one chilly night last week in the old soul town of Seaside, Fla., to hear a prominent Democrat proclaim from the podium that "we're proud of President Clinton." The unmentionable was finally mentioned.

Early last week, they finally seemed to have struck a balance. Clinton would work to make sure Democrats got out and vote. But he would stay away from areas with less of flighty swing voters who might somehow blame Gore for Clinton's sins. But that was before the new issue of *Esquire* magazine appeared, featuring an astonishing letters-page cover photo of Clinton that might be described as the Lewinsky-eye view of the President.

Worse for Gore, Clinton uses a farewell interview with the magazine to remind the world once again of the whole Monica affair, and argue that the Republicans who held him free to the fire for lying about it owe Americans an apology. "Unlike them, I have apologized to the American people for what I did wrong," he says. "Most people know that what they did was not about morality or truth or the law, it was about politics and power. They never apologized to the country for impeachment, they never apologized for all the things they've done."

And on and on. For their own separate reasons, Democrats and Republicans alike have studiously avoided even mentioning impeachment. The assumption is that Americans heard the whole business so much that they'll arrange anyone who brings it up. But Clinton clearly can't help himself. What's painfully obvious is that he and Larry at all, and he's still campaigning as hard as any official candidate. He can't run for office again (that's the little matter of the 22nd amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which limits presidents to two four-year terms). But he can run around himself, to secure his place in history even (some have argued) to regain the affection and respect of his wife. One thing is sure: that campaign will go on long after this week's voting is done.



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A fatal turn on the wrong runway

The wreckage of a Singapore Airlines Boeing 747-400 smoulders on the runway of Taipei's Chiang Kai-shek International Airport as firefighters search for survivors in the smoky haze that killed 81 of 179 people onboard. Officials revealed the pilot, who was taking off in a severe storm, turned down the wrong runway and slammed into parked construction equipment at more than 260 km/h.

Terrorists target a fragile truce

The ink on the truce signed by Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and former Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres barely had time to dry before a car bomb exploded in a side street in Jerusalem's Jewish quarter. The blast, near the open-air Mahane Yehuda market, killed two people and injured dozens and ignited protests across the West Bank and the Gaza. The Arab terrorist organization Hamas immediately took responsibility for the explosion, which came just as Israel's Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Arafat were due

to broadcast simultaneous statements calling on both sides to end fighting that has claimed nearly 170 lives, most of them Palestinians, since Sept. 29.

Under the proposed truce, Israeli forces were to retreat from various positions in Israeli-controlled and Palestinian-ruled territories in the West Bank and Gaza. And although he blamed the bombing on Arafat's decision to release dozens of Hamas fighters from Palestinian jails, Barak still ordered Israeli forces to pull back their tanks and heavy guns. But even that gesture could not restrain fighting that continued in several towns, killing two Palestinians and injuring more than 80.

An untimely revelation about Bush's past

With the race for the White House seemingly deadlocked, Republican nominee Texas Gov. George W. Bush acknowledged he had been convicted of drunk driving in Maine in 1976. It was unclear whether the revelation, by a Maine TV station, would help his Democratic rival, Vice-President Al Gore. Polls gave Bush a slight edge with about 47 per cent of voters, but the outcome rested on a handful of states with large numbers of undecided voters.

China's first census

China dispatched an army of six million census takers in an attempt to determine exactly how large its population is. Officials hope the census will show whether the population has kept below the 1.3 billion target set for 2000. The government estimates China has 1.26 billion people, but the UN says China may actually have up to 160 million more.

Spaniards protest violence

Thousands of Spaniards marched through Madrid demanding a government crackdown on Basque terrorism who have waged a 32-year campaign for independence in which more than 800 people have died. In the latest violence, a remote-controlled bomb exploded in Madrid, killing a Supreme Court judge, his bodyguard and a doctor.

Disabled girl gang-raped

Up to 25 males, aged 12 to 25, allegedly raped a 13-year-old mentally disabled girl while videotaping the atrocity. The victim was lured off her bicycle and into an abandoned apartment complex in Manerba, 25 km northwest of Atlanta. Police have arrested eight suspects and issued warrants for two more.

Preparing for Mars

A joint U.S. and Russian space crew docked with the International Space Station. The crew, an American and two Russians, will stay for four months and are the first to live in the space station—a 16-nation project expected to cost \$100 billion before it is completed in 2006. The three will study the effects of weightlessness on the body in preparation for flight to Mars.

Pesticides and Parkinson's

Researchers at Atlanta's Emory University reported that exposure to rotenone, an organic pesticide used in gardening and in controlling fish populations, can induce symptoms of Parkinson's disease in rats. While the study does not prove that the chemical causes the neurodegenerative disease in humans, it does raise questions about the effects of chronic exposure to environmental toxins.

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World Notes

Kasparov toppled

Garry Kasparov, who has dominated world chess for 15 years, relinquished his crown to his Russian protégé, Vladimir Kramnik. The 25-year-old chess whiz, who takes home a \$3-million prize, won two games while Kasparov, 37, won none. "This match has been dominated by Kramnik's superior preparation," said Kasparov, who lost only once before—to IBM's Big Blue computer in a much-publicized matchup in 1997. "I was just out-prepared," he added.

Welcome back to the UN

Yugoslavia's fledgling democratic government joined the United Nations. That opens a new chapter in Belgrade's relations with the international community after eight years of UN ostracism because of the regime of former strongman Slobodan Milosevic. The 189-member General Assembly overwhelmingly approved Yugoslavia's application and lifted Belgrade's democratic mission under newly elected President Vojislav Kostunica. Several delegates reminded Yugoslavia that UN membership obliges Kostunica to co-operate with the UN war crimes tribunal, which has indicted Milosevic and other senior officials. Yugoslavia's UN envoy Goran Svilanovic did not refer to the war crimes issue in his speech, but he offered assurances that Yugoslavia will promote peace in the region.

More mad-cow panic

A French father and son who sold hundreds of kilos of meat that may have been contaminated with the virus that causes mad-cow disease were arrested in Paris. It touched off a new wave of concern that more of the suspect meat may be in circulation. French officials, who so far have encountered 78 incidents of contaminated meat, are worried the virus may be spreading from Britain, where it has killed nearly 80 people since 1996, into Europe. As a result, the French government has stepped up inspections.

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What Matters to Canadians

Kelly acted on a hunch

Scotish-born Kelly Macdonald wasn't sure if she would make a good actress—but she went to an open audition in 1996 in her home town of Glasgow anyway. "I had an idea that I might be able to do this," she says. "I wasn't a showy child, but I used to privately mimic things on TV." Macdonald was correct in her hunch. Then 19, she won a lead role in the cult drag movie

Trainspotting, opposite Ewan McGregor. After that, Macdonald considered drama school, but never found the time. She was too busy working with Jessica Lange in *Crave* and with Cate Blanchett in *Sliver*.

Now 23, Macdonald is starring in the Sundance Film Festival winner *Two Family House*, as a pregnant Irish girl living in Staten Island's Italian neighborhood. Macdonald plays her part with depth and complexity, something she didn't think she was ready for at the beginning of her career.

"It was happy that Diane was a fairly young thing," she says of her one-dimensional *Trainspotting* character. "Doing something subtle would have been too much for me." These days, Macdonald, who lives in London, is feeling more confident. In fact, drama school is out of the question—unless she's the teacher.



Macdonald, born in Glasgow, who got a big break

A three-minute gal

Television personality Karen Bernheim knows the name of Stanley's mail carrier from *Lawrence of Arabia*, and the name who beat up on Pinkie in *Twelve* in the demolition derby on *Happy Days*. "I like pop culture," says Bernheim, 52, "but usually the kind that no one has any interest in." Still, Bernheim's collection of two Boo Kitty and the Munchkins brothers may come in handy in her new gig at MuchMusic.

The punk-rock fan is the host of a new segment called *The Loop*, which consists of three-minute conversations



Glasgow, Macdonald's appetite for fruit, Jell-O and pastries

A tour of Quebec quirkiness

Tim Gosselin unearthed some obscure details about Quebecers in his first book, *Saint-Basile: An Unconventional Journey Through Quebec*. In addition to being the most voracious consumers of fruit in Canada, they harbor the greatest cravings for Jell-O. But Gosselin's debut also tackled weightier matters, from the valiant stance of the province's successful entrepreneurs to the appeal of Quebec TV programs. "The book was an attempt to avoid politics," says Gosselin, 33, who grew up in Vancouver and Calgary and moved to Montreal in 1996. In *Saint-Basile*, Gosselin pokes fun at some elements of Quebec's distinctive culture from the province's notoriously aggressive drivers to *jeune*. Still, the overriding tone is clearly respectful for a place Gosselin calls one of the most lovable, civilized and intriguing parts of North America. One of the values of Quebec for English Canada, contends Gosselin, is "this idea of showing us there is a radically different way of looking at the world, of creating society." His book suggests one is different.



Bernheim, a fan of pop culture

updates every hour. Bernheim, a Hamilton native, has experience working in the television niche. On the Toronto station CFMT, Bernheim provided wacky commentary during the *Jerry Springer* and *David Letterman* shows. There, her penchant for leather and leopard prints, along with her dramatic hair earned her a cult following in the gay community. She was the first woman on the cover of *Fish*, a magazine for gay men. But at home, Bernheim catches her campiness. "I have a 160-year-old house," she says. "I chop wood, until the central vacuum and wood floors." Still, she finds time for *Law* and *Star*.

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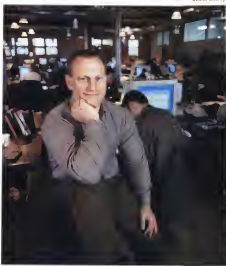
Montreal Miracle

The new economy is booming in the old city, boosted by Quebec's lavish aid for high-tech

By Brenda Branswell in Montreal

Montreal entrepreneur Richard Norman won his first company program as the nation's age of 8. At 13, he made his first sale, creating software that managed survey data for the town hall in his native Haverhill, N.H. "It took me a few years before I went commercial," cracks Norman, 43, the boyish-looking president and co-founder of Hyperchip Inc. in his Montreal office. He is now immersed in his most ambitious venture yet. The tech company is developing a system designed to handle telecommunications traffic at 1,000 times the capacity of existing technology. If Hyperchip succeeds in creating the petabyte router, as it's known, it would be an industry first. The site of the company's cutting-edge work is a former locomotive repair shop near Old Montreal. Exposed metal pipes hang from the ceiling in the open office space with a cappuccino bar and a pool table nestled in a corner. Norman dismisses skeptics who question whether the company can deliver a viable router by next year. "We've basically proven that it's doable," says Norman of the technology. Now, the focus is on implementation. "It's not a harder challenge," he says, "it's just a bigger challenge."

Hyperchip has a flock of disciples. The company recently collected together \$100 million in its third round of financing—a deal believed to be the largest one infusion of venture capital for a private Canadian tech company. Hyperchip's emergence as a fast-growing business is no anomaly in a city that has quietly become a leading high-tech center. A recent PricewaterhouseCoopers study of large metropolitan areas in North America ranked Montreal fourth in concentration of high-tech jobs on a per-capita basis. (Toronto placed higher



Norman, winning \$100 million in venture capital financing

for total number of high-tech jobs, Ottawa, as a smaller city was not included.) Montreal was also the only Canadian city singled out last summer by *Wired* magazine for its list of 46 global high-tech hubs to watch.

The New Economy is a key driving force behind the city's economic resurgence. In August, the Conference Board of Canada predicted Montreal would lead the country in economic growth over the next four years, fueled in part by the thriving aerospace and telecommunications sectors. Bom-

berier Aerospace is growing at a dizzying pace, with 4,000 new jobs forecast for the next three years. Noron Networks has almost doubled its workforce in Quebec—adding 2,600 jobs in the past two years, mostly in Montreal. "In terms of technology, I can't remember a time when things have been this buoyant overall," says Louise Trépanier, co-founder of Montreal's Matrix Graphics Inc., which produces circuit boards used by companies to display graphics.

Since launching Hyperchip three years ago with business partner David Chamberlain, Norman has encountered plenty of quizzical looks from businessmen outside Quebec about why an American chose Montreal in which to run a business. "I tell them I got tired of the low taxes, the volatile political climate and the warm winter weather, so I moved north," he says with a grin. In fact, he bought a house in the city 15 years ago because his new wife, Scorp, was based there, and moved permanently three years ago. He has retained pressure from American investors to relocate the company in the United States. Some

American can now appreciate advantages of Norman's home base. Hyperchip has blossomed from a staff of 22 one year ago to its current 175. When board members look at who the company hires, Norman says, they ask incredulously, "Where do you find these people?"

A deep tech talent pool is invariably cited by local employers as a benefit of operating in Montreal. Companies can pluck graduates from four local universities. Historically, francophones have tended to be less mobile although some employers believe that is changing. But

corporate staff compete fiercely for talent. According to Trépanier, starting salaries for engineers rose by at least 10 per cent last year, "which is huge." Pay and operating costs remain lower in Montreal, though. Ronald Brubaker, CEO of the publicly traded Montreal-based tech company Cognizant Inc., estimates that salaries are at least 30 per cent higher in Toronto. Launched in 1990, Cognizant has posted spectacular growth. It employs 3,500 worldwide, 2,200 of them in Montreal. The company currently has about 100 jobs open in Montreal and 40 full-time recruits trying to fill them.

Marcel Trépanier recently donated \$5 million of his personal fortune to McGill University and pledged another \$5 million if McGill comes up with \$7 million. The money will be used to build a new information technology building and increase enrollment—a welcome development given the shortage of

When Mamma calls

Herbert Tarnatowski makes no attempt to act like a stodgy executive. Dressed in a ribbed sweater and jeans, the 28-year-old dot-com millionaire reaches into a desk drawer in his Montreal office and offers a visitor a chocolate bar. Four years ago, Tarnatowski and business partner Danny Arsenault developed a Web site that sweeps through the databases of several major search engines and offers the results in one place. They called the company Mamma.com, "the mother of all search engines."

The nondescript Web site is short on fancy graphics, and it is hardly alone in the new search field. But "it grew almost exponentially," Tarnatowski says. "People loved the concept." He claims the site attracts six million different visitors a month, mostly from the United States, although independent revenues are lower. Revenue comes from banner advertising on the site as well as sales of the technology to other companies for their own search engines. There are also revenue-sharing deals with search engines queried by

Mamma.com. The company grew rapidly from a handful of staff to 58 employees at its peak. The availability of highly creative technical staff "in a really good rate on a worldwide scale" is a Montreal advantage, says Tarnatowski. Last year, as in every dot-commer's dream, Montreal-based Interac Corp. bought a 67.5-per-cent stake in Mamma.com for \$41 million in shares and cash.

But dot-com reality has also hit. The purchaser's shares have since fallen sharply in value. "After that,

I'm probably hardly a millionaire now," says Tarnatowski. Loyalty has brought the staff down to 40. Tarnatowski also had to work through the death of Arsenault earlier this year. And market volatility threw a wrench in plans to raise cash for a pre-IPO round of financing. "It got to be a very hard environment to do financing over the summer when the stocks were plummeting," he says. The company still plans to go public, but for now the focus is on building a profitable firm. Mamma.com moved into the black for the first time last month and Tarnatowski expects it to earn seven figures next year. He cautions most dot-com companies rarely turn a profit. But that won't be the case for long, "because one of two things will happen, either they'll go profitable or they'll go bankrupt." He's determined to avoid the misfortune of all dot-coms. ■ B.B.



Tarnatowski, aiming for dot-com profit

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Business

IT professionals. Simply keeping potential employees in the city can pose a challenge. Last spring, Boston-based tech firm Tandyne Inc. snapped up about 40 per cent of McGill University's graduating class in electrical and computer engineering, none department chairman David Lowther. "People are trying everything to get employees," says Lowther.

Generous provincial tax credits for research and development have helped lure companies to the city. The province also offers incentives such as a five-year holiday from Quebec income tax for foreign high-tech staff. For Hyperchip, where about 10 to 15 per cent of the workforce comes from outside the country, "that is key to attracting people," says Normes. But critics accuse the governing Parti Québécois of excessive largesse and meddling. The latest flap is over Quebec's plan to massively subsidize a proposed \$3-billion computer microchip plant on Montreal's west island. The province is offering Taiwanese company Mosel Vireo about \$1.8 billion in cash and tax breaks. The PQ wants Ottawa to kick in \$500 million—an amount the Liberals have called too rich, although negotiations continue. Quebec says the plant would create 1,500 jobs, but opponents argue that the memory-chip market is highly volatile. Some say provincial tax cuts would attract more investment.

The city's low profile can be a challenge for Montreal high-tech entrepreneurs who slug it out on a global scale. "We're less visible on an international level and with Americans," says Brisebois, noting how some people assume that if the software is developed in Silicon Valley it is automatically superior. Normes, with his outsider's grasp of the Canadian psyche, contends that in self-offering fashion Montreal does not suffer its tech strength. Ironically, he could moonlight as the city's high-tech ambassador, in rapid succession he fires off a list of who is doing what in each sector. His verdict on the city? An American accent still evident in his enthusiastic voice, Normes declares: "It's really the sleeping giant." ■

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A punch-out at Abitibi

A high-stakes game of brinkmanship erupted at Abitibi-Consolidated Inc., the world's largest producer of newspaper. Chief executive officer John Weaver has squared off with Pierre-Karl Péloiseau, the head of printing giant Quebecor Inc., which has an 11-per-cent stake in Abitibi and three seats on its board. Last week, Péloiseau came out swinging, charging that Abitibi has been badly underperforming since its \$7-billion merger with Donohue Inc. last spring. The main reason, Péloiseau said, was poor management. The share price had dropped in that time from about \$18 to about \$12 and Péloiseau demanded that Weaver be replaced by former Donohue CEO Michel Deshaies, who re-



Péloiseau claims of poor management

nounced as Abitibi chairman a few days before the dispute became public.

Weaver reacted by accusing Quebecor and Péloiseau of making "misapprehensions, incomplete or inaccurate statements" to bolster Quebecor's own interests. Anshon suggested Quebecor may be looking to sell its stake in Abitibi for a premium price (the stock closed the week up at \$13.90) in order to finance its \$5.4-billion takeover of Montreal-based cable company Groupe Vidéotron Ltd.

The loonie slides as the greenback climbs

At times last week, the Canadian dollar drifted down to a two-year low of 64.99 (U.S.) cents as it continued its ascent slide. Analysts cited weak domestic equity markets, a flight of foreign investments and the recent upsurge of the U.S. dollar against virtually all world currencies. The coming federal election has also injected a note of uncertainty. And despite the strong Canadian economy and a slowdown in the United States, some analysts are predicting a further fall next year, perhaps to as low as 60 cents. The dollar closed the week at 65.26.

Financial Outlook

It's official. Despite years of economic growth and predictions for more, aging clunkers are still the single largest group of vehicles driven by Canadians. A survey by Scotiabank found that the average age of Canadian cars is continuing to climb, although not as quickly as in the mid-1990s. At the end of last year, vehicles that were nine years old or more made up 45 per cent of the cars Canadians drive. That's up from 40 per cent in 1997, which analysts peg as the start of the most recent replacement cycle.

Still, new car sales are on the upswing, as Canadians continue to replace older models. Strongest new car sales are in Ontario, although Quebec leads the country with the youngest fleet of cars: an average of 7.5 years.

CLUNKER WATCH

Percentage of households with a vehicle that is at least nine years old



Employment still rising

Canada's unemployment rate rose slightly to 6.9 per cent in October, but only because more jobs were entered the market. Another 20,300 jobs were created, down from the more than 56,000 created in September but still a respectable showing compared with dips in June and July. Full-time positions rose sharply, up by 51,700, with all of the increase coming from the private sector.

Nortel soothes investors

Communications giant Nortel Networks Corp. tried to ease the concerns of jittery investors by taking the unprecedented step of issuing a forecast about the current quarter. The news release predicted operating profits of 40 cents a share. A few days earlier, investors forecasted Nortel's market value because revenue from its key fibre-optics division was down slightly between the second and third quarters. The stock closed up on the week at \$68.55.

Jays sale stalled

Major league baseball owners have deferred a vote on the proposed sale of the Toronto Blue Jays. Rogers Communications Inc. (which owns *Baseball*) struck a deal in September to purchase 80 per cent of the Jays for \$112 million from Investcorp SA, the parent of Labatt Brewing Co. Ltd. The owners said that they want more information about the deal. Under Rogers, Toronto slugger Carlos Delgado signed a record-setting new contract for \$68 million over four years. Jays CEO Paul Godfrey said some owners were concerned about the payout, but he expected approval by late November.

CanWest deal OK

CanWest Global Communications Corp.'s \$3.5-billion takeover of newspaper chain Hollinger Inc. will not be challenged by the federal competition bureau, so long as CanWest agrees to dump its 50-per-cent interest in RBC-TV. The other half is owned by *The Globe and Mail*, a direct competitor of Hollinger's *National Post*. CanWest also said it will revise its financing for the Hollinger deal, as a planned \$800-million bond issue proved too costly.

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Tech Explorer

Bluetooth's first bite

Cradling the headset of an ordinary telephone in the crook of the neck is easy enough, but doing the same with a tiny cellphone can be next to impossible. A better option for hands-free calls is an earpiece and microphone equipped with a cable that plugs into a cellphone dangling in the hip. But of course, Murphy's law requires that the cable will get hooked on something and the earpiece will be ripped unconsciously from the ear. Enter the wireless Bluetooth headset from Ericsson.

The system represents a lot more than just a headset. Bluetooth is a short-range radio-based technology whose developers include Ericsson, IBM, Intel, Nokia and Toshiba. It is designed to do away with the need for electronic cables. Ericsson's Bluetooth headset, due for release across

Canada in early spring, is one of the first consumer products to use the system, which Ericsson hopes will revolutionize the way devices of all kinds communicate with each other.

Anything with a chip in it—a phone, a car, a fridge—can send information—voice, data, text—no other devices.

The headset is a little less ambitious. It works in conjunction with an Ericsson T28w cellphone. To answer a call, the user pushes a button on the headset, which relays the conversation to the cellphone using a low-power Bluetooth radio signal. To place a call, the person presses the same button and uses voice recognition technology to dial the number. The phone can be as far as 10 ft away, in a briefcase, or around the corner in another office. Carl Thomson, an Ericsson marketing manager, says the headset could retail for about \$300, though the price has not been finalized. Conversation sound the same as any other. "I could be on a Bluetooth headset," says Thomson, "and you'd never know."



Headset, with cellphone (left), no wires

Transparent TV

It's the iMac colour scheme all over again, only this time it's for Zenith's new Kid's TV. Available in cool blues, green and purple, these 13-inch televisions with matching remotes are encased in a transparent cabinet, allowing a clear view of the TV's insides. Transparent Zenith TVs were first developed for use inside prisons, says a company spokesman, making it easier for guards to search for contraband than an inmate might stash in a television. The models for kids will have tamper-proof screens, just like the ones in jail. Suggested retail price: \$229.

Danyle Horvath/Ida

Cool Sites

Keeping time

Forget to change your computer clock from daylight time this month? RoboMugs Corp. of Vancouver runs www.daylighttimechange.com, a site with useful shareware for Windows-powered PCs. SocialWatch keeps the clock in your PC accurate automatically, by checking with about 100 public-access time servers on the Internet regularly or as you log on. The site offers similar gadgets for outdoor weather reports and a date room. AutoReply can send pre-set replies to incoming e-mail. D.H.

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Driven by talky teenagers, instant chat programs are the Web's hot growth area

By Chris Wood

Stuffed animals fill the bookshelf behind Minn Barnert's desk, threatening to engulf the trophies she won for public speaking. A blue cordless telephone matches her bedroom's colour scheme. But these days, the Vancouver Grade 8 student is more likely to gab with friends over her PC than on her phone. Using one of half a dozen instant messaging programs available free from the Internet, Barnert connects by exchanging short text messages with friends down the block or in the sky over Mexico. Opening duplicate windows on her computer screen, Barnert shows how she keeps several "chats" going at once. Most are with schoolmates. But she also stays in touch with a Los Angeles friend and poses her Hebrew with a 75-year-old woman in Israel whom she met on the Net. Among the advantages, the 12-year-old says, "You can make conversations with a whole bunch of people at once, and talk to your friends all over and not pay long distances."

Minn's experience isn't likely to surprise anyone under the age of 30 with access to a computer—once their parents. Among Net-literate teenagers, instant messaging—what combi-ns in the terminology of the phone with the brevity of e-mail—has become the hottest social advance since the mall. "Talky teenage girls seem particularly drawn to the technology, helping peeped female users of the Internet to move from half of small users for the first time. But the young are not alone. As the growing pop-

ularity of instant messaging (IM) outstrips that of either regular e-mail or conventional Web-browsing, adults and businesses are waking up to its potential. Much of that is to the good, saving time and boosting productivity. But not all experts worry that IM exposes already overloaded workers to yet another powerful distraction. "It is one of the major concerns of our clients," says John Wan, president of Priority Management Inc., a Vancouver company that trains executives in 16 countries. "They're losing important projects and not getting too important e-mail answered to."

Norfolk, IM's rise has made the service a new hot spot of Web commerce, and driven the topic to center stage in the debate over America Online's proposed \$205-billion takeover of Time Warner Inc. AOL's two IM services—ICQ (for "I seek you") and AIM (AOL Instant Messenger)—account for an estimated 80 to 90 percent of the world's 140 million or so registered instant-message users. Rivals, including giant Microsoft with its MSN Messenger program (No. 2 in popularity in Canada after ICQ), according to research firm Media Matrix Canada, want regulators to loosen AOL's hold on those customers before approving the mega-merger.

At its heart, IM gives anyone with an Internet connection access to the same type of real-time chat that users of large corporate, academic or government networks have long enjoyed. Unlike conventional Internet e-mail, which can sometimes take hours or even days to reach its destination, IM systems deliver the message just as the name suggests—usually A. Flashing on-screen icons or sound alerts impel users. Moreover, while e-mail is open to all, IM networks are closed: users can only message others who subscribe to the same service.

That's half the trick. The other half is something IM users know by the name "buddy list," but engineers call "presence awareness." This is the software that makes it possible for people log-



ging on to know who else among their list of friends is online at the same time. Ali Aziz, for instance, has about 20 names on her buddy list—all belonging to friends from her London, Ont., elementary school. Like Minn Barnert, 12-year-old Aziz usually parties more than one chat thread at a time, with different individuals or groups. "The most I've ever had going at once," she says, "was five."

Ali's mom understands the appeal. She doesn't use instant messaging at home, but her employer's e-mail system operates much like an IM service, showing an alert whenever a new communication arrives. "I do find it's compulsive," Kathy Glasgow says. "The probably a little obsessed about checking it and going back to people right away." But as director of records services at London St. Joseph's Health Care Centre, Glasgow also keenly appreciates the efficiency with which a well-timed message exchange can resolve an issue. "The benefits outweigh the distraction," she concludes.

Millions agree. Forrester Research, which gathers Net statistics, estimates that more than a third of Web-connected North Americans use IM at least weekly. Within 18 months, an industry group expects the number of regular users to double that triple. That growth rate is one reason AOL's rivals are pushing so hard to loosen the Dulles, Va.-based Internet giant's hold on IM. The bigger one is the future profit in corporate enterprises believe IM will unlock. Because users access IM services frequently and often keep their windows open on-screen for long periods, those windows make appealing delivery vehicles for e-commerce advertising. IM is also being being launched for cellphones and personal digital assistants like the Palm. Many analysts believe

Barnert's conversations with "a whole bunch of people at once"

instant messaging is emerging as the "killer app" of windows.

For it to reach its fullest potential, however, mooring barriers between different IM networks must fall, allowing open communications among users of all services—just as conventional e-mail does. So far, AOL has refused to open AIM and ICQ to such inter-operability, citing unspecified security concerns. Its rivals, including Microsoft, Yahoo! and AT&T, are working on a protocol to get the services working together. They have asked regulators not to approve AOL's acquisition of Time Warner until the issue is resolved.

Other companies, meanwhile, are toiling for their own share of messaging profits. Several have developed programs that let IM users communicate directly by voice using microphones and speakers built into their computers—in effect moving their PCs into telephones. Both MSN Messenger and AIM now offer free calls from computers directly to phone numbers across North America. Last month, Eyeball.com of Vancouver launched a video-chat service that lets IM users equipped with PC video cameras see each other.

Down the road, believes Toronto market analyst Chaitin Whaley, "IM could become the gift that finally makes the Holy Grail of 'unified messaging' possible." Presence-awareness software will deliver incoming messages from any source to whatever digital device you happen to be using—PC, cellphone, pager or PDA—translating text to voice (or vice versa) as necessary. Many older Canadians may feel information overload has reached a bewildering new level. Chances are Ali Aziz and Minn Barnert will feel just at home. ■

Message-speak

Instant messaging has spread and intensified the click-boppy, purely computerized vocabulary of online chat rooms. Here's a sample:

wpf	Whose? (Similar to howsgo)
nm	Nothing much (or spelled out, nite)
u/s/it	Age/location? (Meaning, who's it?)
starts	Answered by down list, 115 b.
etc	I get it
lwt	Rhymes with, but does not describe, about
nx	I see, they said
lbt	Be right back
wtb	What the, eh, heck. Sometimes wtf
ca	See you ...
lkr	Later

For kids, or to chat about what
new machines



Brice Scheschuk

Napster: the power of sharing

The name may sound more like a ferry service than a byword for what some consider digital piracy, but Peer-to-Peer (P2P) computing—think Napster, Gnutella, iVoxnet and many more variations—is being embraced by tens, maybe hundreds, of millions of people. What started with sharing MP3s, or music files, has rapidly escalated to include DVDs, computer software and anything digital. Imagine sharing files and processing power across all computers on the Net. Heady stuff. As John Patrick, vice-president of Internet technology at IBM has said, “The real issue isn’t, ‘Does Napster win or does Napster not win?’ The issue is that we have the avoidance of the Internet really taking hold and it’s putting a lot of power in the hands of people.” So what are the major music labels and movie studios supposed to do about all this sharing of their creative efforts? Here, for their benefit, is a reality check on the options:

Legal Action Your organizations are big fans of it. Witness current court battles against Napster and DeCSS (the DVD decrypter) and remember such long-running, productive campaigns as the Motion Picture Association of America’s attempt to keep VCRs out of North American homes. Strange how movie rentals now account for half of studio revenues and how theatre revenues have increased since the VCR’s introduction. Is there a lesson here? One problem is that these peer-to-peer file-sharing applications reproduce like rabbits. Making life even more difficult is the newer P2P offspring that cannot be sued because there is no central company or server that controls the sharing.

Copy Protection Although almost laughable in its effectiveness, copy protection may be mentioned. The trouble is that all forms of commercial digital copy protection have been broken quickly and efficiently, and will come out to be hacked. There are very smart people who relish the challenge of breaking what they view as an outrage by big bulky corporations (that’s you, I’m afraid) to infringe on their digital freedom.

Digital Monitoring In the not-so-distant past, Intel, Microsoft, Real Networks and many other companies tried to install subtle logic in chips and programs to send information from end-user computers to corporate headquarters. Imagine if you could routinely scan people’s computers for file formats that may indicate pirated music or movies. What a second—any company that has ever tried to blatantly monitor someone’s computer has met with a maelstrom of protest and negative publicity. Scrap that idea, guys.

Brice Scheschuk is a chartered accountant and a Toronto-based executive at an Internet financial-services company.

Embrace New Technology Although that sounds radical, it may make sense to work with P2P. It is painfully obvious that your customers want to use these technologies. Does this destroy the commercial value of your artists? Probably not. CD sales have grown by 30 per cent since the MP3 floodgates opened two years ago. The Net and e-mail have become amazing viral marketing channels—tell a friend, tell two friends, and so on—for companies with a valuable service to sell. Send an e-mail with the latest Kid Rock song to a friend who has not heard of the artist, she likes him so much she buys the album—CD or digital—goes to the concert, purchases merchandise, tells other friends and so on.

Imagine, for a minute, a venetian capitalist arming up a Napsterque service for unsigned artists. The service pays for studio time, provides free downloads to users and opens an artist to the broader market. Once a promising artist is identified by number of downloads, the service funds videos and additional studio time, and both parties profit from radio stations exposure, tours, merchandise and—so whatever success is left—digital sales (lots of people will want the authorized version). All of this while the music can also be downloaded for free—a true paradigm shift.

German media giant Bertelsmann AG may have shown the way last week when it announced it was dropping its lawsuit against Napster and entering up with its former nemesis. Bertelsmann will loan Napster money to help it become a membership service while Bertelsmann’s music unit, BMG, will make its music catalogue available to Napster. Could this be the beginning of the end for the \$20-billion lawsuit by the rest of the music industry?

The entrenched franchises of your music labels and movie studios are coming under threat from all sides. What happens when high-speed home Internet use increases in the next two to three years and anyone can download an entire CD or movie quickly and painlessly? What happens when artists figure out they can do better handling their own distribution on the Net?

P2P presents the biggest challenge and opportunity ever to free creation of primary works. No longer are we limited to a few friends copying software, a movie or a CD among themselves. Now, the entire population of Net users can share any digital file. Rather than put up temporary barriers that cannot hope to keep up with the advancement of this technology, artists and their labels, studios, software companies and publishers must adapt and embrace it. You folks, in other words, must build new relationships with your customers, based on the marketing power inherent in sharing. After all, it’s something we’ve been taught to do since we were kids.



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Wilson-Brown with
Nasrude, Nigel, Douglas

A row over funding

As a rule, Anne Wilson-Brown couldn't care less about municipal politics. But for the Halifax mother of three, last month's regional election was different. The reason, along with picking a mayor, municipal councillor and school-board representative, voters were asked whether they supported an additional tax to provide supplementary education funding throughout the Halifax Regional School Board. At Ecole St. Joseph-Alexander McKay, where two of her three children are enrolled, the funding helps

pay for everything from French, art and music instruction to special-needs teachers. Most important, in her view, supplementary funding makes possible the Four Plus program, which prepares inner-city children for kindergarten. "My daughter, Nasrude, went through that program," says Wilson-Brown, "and I want my one-year-old to have the same wonderful opportunity."

For that reason, Wilson-Brown was elated by the vote's outcome: a slim majority of 53 per cent for supplementary

funding. Peter Kelly, the Halifax regional municipality's mayor, quickly vowed to honour the result. But opponents accuse premature. Kelly carries just one of 24 votes on Halifax council. And outside of the communities of Halifax and Dartmouth, which already

Voters in the Halifax region clash over supplementary school taxes

pay for the program, most voters said a definite no to increased education taxes. Fireworks are sure to ignite when the proposal is placed before the newly elected council, and municipalities across the country will be watching the drama unfold. "Dollars are tight in every province," says Carole James, first vice-president of the Canadian School Boards Association. "Everyone is struggling for a solution."

The Halifax area perfectly encapsulates the debate. For 20 years, city dwellers have paid a special property tax, \$130 a year for a \$106,000 home in Halifax and \$100 in nearby Dartmouth. The money ensures access to music, art and French programs, allows teachers and administrators to buy ad-

ditional supplies and helps pay for special-education staff, social workers and psychologists. Meanwhile, rural and suburban areas have balked at the tax. As a result, their children usually receive fewer or inferior services.

The 1996 amalgamation of Halifax, Dartmouth and the surrounding municipalities brought every student under one school board. But the inequities have proven hard to erase. Since amalgamation, councillors from the rural and suburban wards have balked at approving a new tax, their city counterparts decline to face the issue. The upshot is a gridlocked council, which has steadfastly refused to phase in supplementary funding in the suburban and rural areas, despite the fact that 35,000 of the regional school board's 60,000 students live there. This year, municipal council levied a one-time extra charge of \$2.5 million in those outlying areas, saving 61 school support jobs. But that expenditure paled in comparison with the \$12 million that the former city of Halifax spent on extra funding. Dartmouth added another \$5 million. "Let's be honest, our schools and kids need the money," says Bob Harvey, a municipal councillor from the community of Sackville, which voted against the tax on Oct. 21. "It's the best investment anyone can make."

Getting taxpayers to agree up is another matter. Keith Colwell, a councillor who opposes supplementary funding, argues that education is a provincial responsibility—and that the school board cannot be trusted to spend the funds properly. "It's a question of accountability," he maintains. "Once the money goes to the school boards, how do we control how it is spent?" A legitimate question even if Colwell is getting ahead of himself. After all, for more than half the students concerned, the question of supplementary funding remains not how but if.

John DeMont in Halifax

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Saving the womb

A new way of removing benign tumours may eliminate the need for many hysterectomies

By Mark Nichols

When Yvonne Skura experienced heavy bleeding during prolonged menstrual periods three years ago, a gynecologist diagnosed non-cancerous tumours, known as fibroids, in Skura's uterus. He recommended a hysterectomy, and Skura, a pharmacist from Brandon, Man., agreed. Later, she had second thoughts. "I didn't like the way he made it sound as though a hysterectomy was the only thing to do," she recalls. She cancelled the operation and went hunting for an alternative, which emerged when she heard—on a TV talk show—of something called uterine fibroid embolization (UFE). Skura did some research on the Internet and in March of last year flew to London, Ont., where doctors at St. Joseph's Health Centre performed the relatively simple procedure that shrinks and starves troublesome fibroids by choking off their blood supply. "It was an easy, even pleasant experience," says Skura, 54, who was conscious during the 60-minute operation and recovered quickly enough to leave hospital and home two days later.

This is in sharp contrast to the average five days in hospital and eight weeks of recuperation needed after a hysterectomy—the surgical removal of a woman's womb that many physicians consider standard treatment for problem fibroids. More than a third of the



Proof: 'the uterus is probably not just for babies'

60,000 hysterectomies that gynecologists carry out in Canada annually are performed because of fibroids. And a growing number of critics argue there are better, less invasive ways of dealing with the problem. The newest, and—according to some experts—most promising option, is UFE, which controls fibroids while leaving the uterus intact. "I think within about 10 years, it will be the first-line therapy for fibroids," says Dr. Andrew Cameron, a Toronto physician who is co-leader of a study under way in eight Ontario hospitals. "I really feel using a hysterectomy to deal with fibroids is like taking a sledgehammer to a mosquito."

While UFE is currently being used to treat problem fibroids at hospitals in half a dozen Canadian cities, it is still technically in the testing stage and can be performed only in medical studies

investigating its safety and effectiveness. So far, says Dr. Lindsay Machan, a Vancouver physician who has performed the procedure more than 200 times, UFE appears to be a promising alternative to hysterectomies. "But," he adds, "we don't have good data to prove that yet." Even so, with glowing reports of UFE's effectiveness spreading on the Internet and by word of mouth, women like Skura are demanding the operation.

Part of the reason is a growing tendency for women to challenge the traditional medical attitude that the uterus is a disposable organ in women past child-bearing age. "The uterus is probably not just for having babies," says Gaylene Pratt, a University of Toronto epidemiologist who is co-leader of the Ontario study. "There's growing evidence that it has a role in sexual function," she adds, including enhancing the quality of orgasm.

Although several alternative therapies have emerged during the past decade, most gynecologists still consider hysterectomies the best solution to fibroids, which develop in the wombs of about a quarter of all women between the ages of 15 and 50. In about half of those women, treatment isn't necessary. But among the others, fibroids that sometimes grow to the size of grapefruits can produce symptoms that include excessive menstrual bleeding, anemia, lower-abdominal pressure and severe pain. They can also complicate pregnancy and trigger miscarriages.

Problem fibroids have to be treated. But critics say North American hysterectomy rates are far higher than they should be. More than 35 per cent of Canadian and American women have hysterectomies by the age of 60 for all causes, including chronic pain and menstrual problems that may be triggered by hormonal imbalances. That rate, says Dr. George Vilos, a London, Ont., gynecologist, is "excessive, compared to some European countries,



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where only 15 to 25 per cent of women have hysterectomies. If we're going to make a dent in that, we have to look at other ways of treating fibroids."

First reported by French physicians during the mid-1990s, UFE is a minimally invasive procedure that relies on fluoroscopy—moving X-ray images projected on a TV screen—to guide physicians. Specialists like Machan and Cormann, who are interventional radiologists, perform the procedure because they are used to working with fluoroscopes. In a typical operation, the radiologist inserts a snake-like plastic catheter into one of the patient's arteries that supplies the uterus with blood, and releases clusters of tiny plastic particles. The blood flow carries the particles into the uterus, where they block fibroids' blood supply, causing the lumps to shrink by an average of 40 to 50 per cent within a year—enough in most cases to prevent further problems.

Still, there are some concerns over UFE's long-term effectiveness. Because the procedure is so new, doctors cannot be sure yet that fibroids starved of nutrients will not eventually find a new blood supply and grow back. According to Machan, regrowth has been reported in some women who became pregnant after undergoing UFE. And physicians in the Ontario study, who have performed more than 500 uterine fibroid embolizations during the past 20 years, have reported several cases of regrowth, which Cormann thinks were related to the anatomical peculiarities of individual patients. "I don't think," adds Cormann, "that we're going to see this in a lot of cases."

There are other risks. In less than one per cent of cases, says Machan, infections that set in following UFE can make hysterectomies necessary. And in a small percentage of cases involving women over 45, embolization can backfire by damaging the ovaries and triggering the onset of menopause. Moreover, embolization sometimes does not shrink large fibroids enough to relieve pressure on the uterus. "Women need to be sold these things," adds Machan. "But usually, they still think the advantages of

embolization outweigh the negatives."

Carelyn Maydonick, a Burlington, Ont., homemaker and mother of a 34-year-old son, has nothing but praise for the procedure. Two years ago, a baseball-sized fibroid at the top of her uterus was causing problems that included urinary tract infections and

painful pressure. After a gynecologist told her a hysterectomy was the only treatment available, Maydonick, like Shuta, searched for alternatives and underwent UFE at St. Joseph's Health Centre in London in February of last year. "After this," says Maydonick, 55, "my symptoms cleared up completely. I haven't had any problems since." Enough uterine tissue that could point to a bright future for a promising but unproven therapy. ■

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Charles Gordon

The photo-op perversion

Things you need to understand while trying to follow the federal election campaign in the media:

It's close time for us, too.

If you think the candidates are under pressure, take a look at the newspaper and TV stations. That's their big chance to start their stuff. Simply covering the campaign won't do. Belts and whistles are necessary, snappy graphics and moving logos on TV, polls, notebooks, voter panels, reality checks and some fancy Internet stuff in the papers. And there's a newspaper war on in Toronto.

The media hole being used.

This may be the most important notion of all, and to understand it a short history of campaign reporting is necessary. We began, a century or so ago, by writing totally biased stories about the leader's speech, depending upon the political orientation of the newspaper and whether or not it coincided with the political orientation of the leader. Later came the era of what we like to think of as objectivity, in which we reported the leader's speech more or less straight. Then TV came, political parties invented the photo opportunity and learned to base entire campaigns on it. A few years later, journalists and "the hell with that."

Which brings us to where we are now. A new campaign ritual has developed, in which campaign strategists place photo ops before us and we report on how badly they are working. The photo op is placed at a location nearly symbolizing the leader's message of the day—a hospital, a factory, Niagara Falls. Somewhere in the midst of the photo op is a message, some words the leader is dishing at the voters. But the media hate being manipulated, aren't being used so certain in the politically engineered drama. So they focus on the strategy instead of the message, and happen help the party if something goes wrong. It becomes a gaffe and the gaffe, not the message, becomes the news.

In the aftermath of Stedeville Day's unfortunate Niagara Falls incident, Alliance strategist Rod Love told *The Ottawa Citizen's* Lawrence Martin that the media were doing what they always do early in the campaign: "They're saying they're in charge." "That's something in that, the media saying 'live by the photo op, die by the photo op.'"

Gaffes are a case study.

Does anybody remember what Day was talking about when he had the water in the Great Lakes flowing the wrong way? Yes, it was the brain drain and the bad politics, particularly in isolation, that are causing it.

In coverage of the Alliance event at Niagara Falls, a reader

or viewer had to be extremely patient to find out what Day had to say. It was preceded by coverage of happen and the dire consequences of bad weather. In a typical story, the Alliance leader's thoughts on the brain drain came 14 paragraphs down, with the reader in all likelihood safely on another page. Yet in the long run, it is probably of more concern to the voter than how well Day's speechwriters learned their geography. The next day, several columns describing the event as the death knell of Day's campaign, a reporter went to a Grade 7 and 8 school to find out if his students were expected to know the direction in which Great Lakes water flows. They were. Goofus.

The strategist is more interesting than the leader.

Once the idea is accepted that the daily success or failure of campaign strategy is the key point of coverage, then the strategies, the actions of the photo ops, attract significant coverage. For one thing, strategy is interesting and a bit exotic, more so, even, than the flat tin.

By the end of the first campaign week, most major media outlets had run a feature on the so-called war rooms of the parties, the places from which party faithful find out messages to the media, steering them to possible gaffes in rival campaigns.

Technology works both ways.

The same technology that allows the war rooms to keep in touch with the leader allows the media war rooms to keep in touch with the reporter. That means the reporter on Plane B knows immediately about the gaffe on Plane A and his story may be about Leader B's reaction to Leader A's gaffe, rather than on what Leader B has to say about, say, health care. But all is not lost.

Despite it being a decade of gaffe-oriented coverage, the parties continue to play it the same, but the media may be changing. As early as the end of the campaign's first week, there were signs that journalists were having second thoughts about Gaffage. Several analyses of gaffe-happy reporting and gaffe-seeking strategies appeared. *The Globe and Mail's* daily Internet poll showed that 70 per cent of respondents answered "No" to the question, "Have the media made too much of gaffes and minor slips so far in this campaign?"

Meanwhile, some of the same technology that propels Gaffage can provide relief from it. The Internet still doesn't catch a high enough percentage of the voters, but those who have access to it can visit the party Web sites and find unfiltered policy statements, platforms and speeches. That, plus a certain chagrin on the part of the media could yet bring context back to political campaigns—if the party strategists will agree to forget about the scenery.

Charles Gordon is a columnist with *The Ottawa Citizen*.

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Hits with a Cutting Edge

By Nicholas Jennings

Things got off to a spooky start when Radiohead took to the stage recently at Toronto's Air Canada Centre. Nothing, to paraphrase John Lennon in *Somebody Saved My Heart*, seemed quite real. Over a disconcertingly repetitive bass, the English group's front man, Thom Yorke, screamed the sold-out audience with a strangely disembodied voice on *The National Anthem*, one of the songs from Radiohead's latest new album, *Kid A*. "Everyone around here," Yorke intoned, looking alien-like and vulnerable in the spotlight's glare, "everyone has got the itch." Keyboardist Jonny Greenwood added to the tension, twisting the dish on a transistor radio that emitted a series of disorienting squawks and drones. Meanwhile, a dizzying light show of flashing strobes gave all the band members

Radiohead and Moby prove that pop is still alive and well



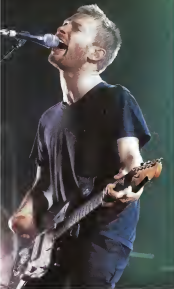
Moby: *Mezzanine* and pop mixed with modern syncretism and dance beats

Such preoccupations may not be surprising coming from a man who once wrote a song called *Pop & Din*. But while Radiohead still had at least one foot in the mainstream pop camp until recently, with *Kid A* the Oxford-based band has completely abandoned standard guitar-rock structures. Full of electronic beats and bleeps, vocal dissonances and odd time signatures, the album has more in common with recent recordings by Beck, Moby and even Madonna's latest than anything by Clash, Blur or other British guitar bands of the 1990s with whom Radiohead first emerged. Like American artist Moby's ambient *Play*, *Kid A* blends old- and new-world sounds to create a blended, 21st-century pop music that is both compelling and, oddly enough, commercial.

What is going on here? *Play* is a left-field hit that has sold five million copies worldwide. *Kid A*'s success is even more striking: the album made its debut at No. 1 in North America without the benefit of a single or a video—both of which the connectively ambivalent Radiohead refused to issue. While some observers continue to declare the decline of pop music, citing the shift to the lightweight product of Barney Speare, N Sync et al., Moby and Radiohead are proof that not only is the genre still alive and evolving, but there is an audience hungry for the cutting edge.

Sitting in a quiet dining room in a renovated 19th-century Toronto courthouse on the afternoon after the concert, Radiohead's Greenwood (Yorke, who writes all the lyrics and is in effect the band leader, does not give interviews) described the furious 16-month process that resulted in *Kid A*. Guitarist Ed O'Brien wanted to return to Radiohead's roots and make a guitar-based record. Yorke had other ideas, preferring more of the free, cut-and-paste world of hip-hop DJs and dance remasters—the "two turntables and a microphone" ethos about which Beck, another innovator who has enjoyed commercial success, disapproved in his 1996 hit *Wish I Was Fat*.

Yorke's approach won out, and band members threw themselves into the experimental process. Greenwood, who studied classical music and psychology at the same private school that his bandmates attended, introduced a French-synthesizer called an Ondes Martenot, once used by French composer Olivier Messiaen. Like Radiohead's best-selling last release, 1997's *OK Computer*, *Kid A* takes dreamy voices and turns them out into dark, nightmarish old-dead-you're-there-as-a-hopeful-as-the-songs, much like that found in horror and utopian novels such as George Orwell's 1984 or Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. Greenwood notes that Yorke,



Yorke: *Mezzanine* reduces phrases for alien lyrics

who writes all of the band's lyrics, has in fact read Orwell's classic so many times that his copy is now dog-eared and full of pen marks. For *Kid A*, he adds, Yorke wrote a series of long and short phrases, then threw them into a hat and then chose them at random to form the lyrics for the album songs. The result is a series of elliptical yet haunting fragments that work their way into the subconscious. In *Optimistic*, the phrase "you can try the best you can, the best you can is good enough" serves as a hopeful refrain in a song about a bleak world of drosses robbing the earth and big fish eating little ones.

As such lyrics suggest, Radiohead has a political agenda. Along with supporting such movements as Free Tibet and Drop-the-Debt, which seeks to eradicate Third World debt, the band has embraced Toronto author Naomi Klein's book *No Logo*, about the branding of the planet by such corporations as IBM, Starbucks and McDonald's. During the band's Toronto performance (one of only three North American stops), Yorke

joked that companies such as Ford, Molson and Nike had sponsored each song the band performed. "It's mad," says Greenwood. "These sponsored that one day the city of Toronto itself is going to be sponsored." Although they are both politically motivated and share a thrilling sense of musical experimentation, Radiohead and Moby couldn't be further apart on the issue of sponsorship. Moby, born Richard Melville Hall, has freely allowed each of the 18 songs on *Play* to be licensed for use in films, TV programs and commercials. In fact, Moby's electronic music has appeared in ads for Laburn, Buell's, Nissan and American Express. For Hall, a native of New York City and a former Museum park ranger, it's all a matter of pragmatism. He recalls first being offered a huge sum of money—about \$225,000—five or six years ago by the automobile manufacturer Range Rover to use one of his songs in a TV ad. "I figured if I said no they'd still make the commercial using some cheap knock-off of my music," Moby claims. "So I decided to do it and donated the money I got to Greenpeace and Transparency 2000."

Since then, Moby has continued to make donations to various environmental causes, although he admits he's lost 100 per cent of the money, because he's lost the money, or at least the security that it represents. In Toronto recently for an appearance on the *Moby Music Video Awards*, in the middle of his 21-month world tour, Moby sat in the offices of his Canadian distributor, and reflected on the unexpected success of *Play*, which has spawned such worldwide top 10 singles as *Mezzanine* and *Porcelain*. "It's an eclectic record when most successful records are kind of one-dimensional," he says. "As disco music: one when most are quite formulaic, and I'm 35 years old when most are made by people who are 18." Like Messiaen's 1996 album, *Amorism*, *Mezzanine* of these records that seem to be everywhere: in dance clubs, elevators, the local bookstore. The reason for its ubiquity can be traced to its refusal mix of traditional blues and gospel with modern syncretism and dance beats, which adds a human warmth to an otherwise cold and technical product.

A man who once made the *Guinness Book of Records* for producing the fastest record on earth, the 1,000-beats-per-minute techno hit *Thousand*, Moby has slowed things down and created a classic with *Play*. Like Radiohead's *Kid A*, the album offers an intelligent alternative to the angry rap-music and heavy dance music that have dominated the charts. Both recordings, arguably the two most important releases in recent years, bode well for pop music's future. **B**

By Brian D. Johnson

The rivers, it turns out, are still saddled with the downy business of playing serious heroes doing dankish jobs. If you're Robert De Niro, a desperate driver in *Aden of Honor*, that means holding your breath until your head is ready to explode—while learning to respect your African-American peep. If you're Marc Damon, playing golf in *The Legend of Bagger Vance*, it means spending long hours trying to recover your lost swing—while learning to respect your African-American caddy. These are redemptive pictures about the triumph of the human spirit, and of the male ego.

Spoofing the spy genre with kung fu and cat suits, *Charlie Ayers* is like an Aaron Powers sex drama, without the roller

Gooding Jr. does a worthy job of playing a blandly some-

Then, those handicapped by heftiness, the drama acquires the allure of any luxuriously photographed sports flick. And as Dimon's character looks for the perfect shot, so does the director, whose patient eye seems ideally suited to the game of golf. Like a young Redford, Dimon conveys a quiet authenticity as a golden boy bluffing away the naysayers. He looks good swinging a club, stylishly appraising the shot with his eyes, and Smith is doubly undermanned as the dyed-hardie caddy. But the movie, which inhabits a Deep South miraculously free of racial tensions, is preposterous. As for Dimon, the actor like such finding an audience for a Tennessee Williams play *Chances*, yield more merit as a Charles's Angel. **B**

In three movies,
men butt heads while
women kick butt



Gooding (left): De Niro (middle): turning fact into myth

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Theatre

Sibs and other strangers

Two plays generate comic and dramatic riches from the most meagre materials



Gilmour (top left), Smith, Marceau, Repo-Marrell, creating a train trip through the Russian night

Call them theatrical versions of the loaves and fishes miracle: Just as Jesus fed the multitudes from a few scraps of food, two careers but Canadian plays, *Cleebell's Sherm* and *Sibs*, conjure up entire worlds from the most meagre of materials. In *Cleebell's Sherm*, four actors use their bodies and some borrowed costumes to evoke the melancholy yet often hilarious universe of Aaron Cleebell's short stories. And in *Sibs*, two performers supported by nothing more substantial than a couple of chairs and some interludes of vibraphone music, re-create a life-size world of sibling love and rivalry. In a way, there's nothing remarkable about this. The great richness of live theatre—you could almost say its presiding genius—has always been based, paradoxically on its limitations. Despite occasional big-budget attempts to put Hollywood-type spectacle and

glue swords with their mouths, struggling with their audiences in imaginary corridors, or sitting on them while they play cards, they expertly capture the peculiar rhythm and musical atmosphere of a train trip.

As the long night passes, the travellers will see smaller scenes. There's certain amount of verbal exclamation lifted, sometimes inefficiently, from Cleebell's work, but the best parts of the show pass in the potent alliance of mime. One role focuses on a last dog played by Repo-Marrell. She wears an eye patch and gloves, but otherwise her conveying of the animal depends solely on her remarkable body language. When a kindly stranger (Gilmour) puts her back, Repo-Marrell's wiggling pleasure is so powerfully conveyed it can be felt all the way to the back row. Somehow, mysteriously, the worlds of

canine and human experience have momentarily merged.

Next year, *Cleebell's Sherm* will travel to Edmonton (Feb 8 to 10), Vancouver (Feb. 13 to 17) and Dartmouth (May 8 to 10). On the other hand, no-out-of-Toronto dates have been announced yet for *Sibs*, although the producers, Toronto's Tarragon Theatre, opens its new season throughout North America. Directed by Alma Palmer, the show (to Nov 12) is a wildly funny yet poignant tale of sibling relations. A middle-aged brother (Richard Greenblatt) and his older sister (Diane Flack) meet in their deceased father's house to settle his estate. The predictable quarrel ensues, but that's only the launching point for Greenblatt and Flack's exploration of their mutual past. The two soon do a marvellous job of impersonating their characters—who remain accessible—at various ages. In one of the best

scenes, Flack plays a teenager tortured by maternal anger. She sits alone in her room, strumming a single chord on her guitar and singing the word "dukkadu" over and over, while her anxious brother secretly watches.

Scripted by Flack (also co-writer and co-star of the new CBC sitcom *AW*) and Greenblatt (the co-author, along with Ted Dikeman, of the hit play *2 Flunks, 4 Flunks*), *Sibs* works so well because it takes its subject seriously. For all the laughs it generates, the play conveys a sense of two lives held within a fragile mesh of memory and longing. And it's performed by two people who know exactly how to sustain up that playful space where the imaginations of the audience and actors can meet in joyful communion.

John Boniface



Crime, two ways

Successful writers of crime fiction share something with their subjects: to get away with murder, they need special skills. The number of potboilers fermenting, wiseacre, head-battering private dicks is almost enough to make readers not die for the bad guys—just to escape predictability. That's one reason why the best of the genre is Elmore Leonard in his fast-paced, mordantly ambiguous novels, the ending left always happy, and the hard-boiled qualities never always apparent. He masters real life. Then there's Kathy Reichs, whose strength is that she is one of about 90 forensic anthropologists in North America. That gives her after ego and recurring heroine, Dr. Temper Brennan, tremendous credibility.

Now, crime fiction fans can look to new books by those two best-selling authors—with vastly different results. *Pagan Babbie*, the 36th novel by the 75-year-old Leonard, shows that the old master is still learning new tricks. With a plot line that begins in Africa and ends with a twist of the tale, Leonard makes readers not fear a case artist who earns credibility and cash by posing as a priest. Meanwhile, *Deadly Decisions*, Reichs' third novel featuring

Brennan—who, like the author, divides her time between Montreal and the southern United States—with familiar ground, disappointingly.

Leonard's hit and Reichs' rise stem from their different approaches. Leonard, unlike many suspense writers, seldom features the same character in more than one novel—and thus reinvents himself in each book. When *Pagan Babbie* opens, impostor priest Terry Dunn is drinking scotch whisly,

Leonard reconfirms his mastery; Reichs loses her writerly grip

saying Hail Marys and reliving the memory of a massacre in a Rwandan village. Then Dunn leaves the country to return to Detroit and to underworld life, a comely fellow can arrest named Debbie Dewey and a strong operation directed at some low-grade mobsters.

In a *Montreal* interview last year, Leonard outlined his rules of fiction—they include avoiding adverbs, which "slow the story," and writing a tale "through the lead's eyes [without] a lot

of analysis and thoughts." Dunn is a smart, nasal guy who's done dumb, unusual things in an attempt to meet the expectations of a loving brother and deceased uncle. And it is a common with Leonard's characters, they seem stuck at first but always offer surprises. While Dewey appears to be the typical bad-girl-with-a-heart-of-gold, she is more complicated than that. Similarly, a con-man killer who seems both comical and inept turns out to be neither.

Pagan Babbie lacks the laugh-out-loud exchanges and richly textured characters of Leonard's very best work, like 1990's *Get Shorty* or 1985's *Glitz*. This book, despite shifting contexts, is claustrophobic and sometimes cumbersome in tone, and it occasionally drags. But overall, it often more proof that no one better parrots the outlook of everyday life than Leonard.

By contrast, Reichs, after the runaway success of her first book, *Debt*, *Dead*, and follow-up, *Death*, *do* *know* is regressing rather than improving. Through the author's Quebec French in real life and knows her way around Quebec, her characters' characters and dialogue seem to put the lie to that. Her cops run around saying things like "sacré bleu"—an expression once popular in France that Quebec francophones now use—and there are frequent references to life in "Quebec province," which no one in Canada says in either official language. The plot line—revolving around Quebec's real-life killer wars—often promises, but to get from beginning to conclusion, Reichs relies on riffs from bumbling relatives, improbable coincidences and numerous characters whose evil intent is telegraphed from their first appearance. Add to that a superhuman aboriginal cop named Martin Quinquante and Brennan's sometime lover Andrew Ryan—who by this book has morphed into a dead-eye shot who looks like "a cross between Cal Ripken [sic] and Indiana Jones"—and the whole thing reads like a big-dumb make-nice song opera sponsored by the CBC. As whodunits go, Reichs' latest is slowly all right—but not in the way she intended.

Anthony Wilton-Smith



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A soldier's story online

The new Web site www.kingsandqueens.com, a companion to a documentary series airing on History Television next September, features biographies and pictures of Canadians who fought in the First World War. Catherine Jane Becker



Moscow submitted the story her father, Cpl. John Harold Becker of the 75th Battalion, 11th Brigade, kept of his early days in France in 1917. Becker, who was later granted and accepted by shipyard, returned home to St. Thomas, Ont., in February, 1919. Excerpt from his diary:

From [the Germans] quietest last night. These did over the once 8 pieces of shrap. It is a wonder how anyone comes out of this alive but I do not seem to be afraid. I am in God's hands.

From bombardment on last night starting about 7. He blew our trenches in a spot and buried me once. It shook me up but I am all right. At 11:45 p.m. our barrage started suddenly and we went over the top for Fritz's line. It was awful. Several prisoners. Number killed, wounded.

Rained last night and trench full of water. Am in mud up to my waist. Fritz put over a few but not many houses. He has been pretty quiet since we went over. Am still wondering how I lived.



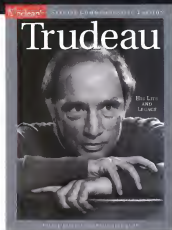
James and Holmes: abiding, happy hosts of much news

Scratching the celebrity itch

Sean complains in an interview about copyright infringement by rock bands. A post-bellied guy in his 40s got down on the dance floor in a clip from a TV show called *Mad-Age Electric Circus*. Welcome to *The Job*, a new half-hour series that raucously parodies entertainment news shows on television. Premiering on The Comedy Network on Nov. 14, *The Job* is hosted by the ultra-thick, perpetually smiling Barry (Jason Jones) and Tricia (Jessica Holmes). Like most skin-based comedy shows, this one means the laugh much more often than not. But each show has at least a few laugh-out-loud gems (including interviews with a bawdy flying monkey and a man whose from the film *The Wizard of Oz*). Use of MuchMusic-like pouting, cunnings, staccatos and graphics should appeal to a younger demographic, as well the bang-on impersonations of Adam Sandler, Britney Spears and Eminem. Deliberately funny celebrities.

Jason Oh

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ROGERS
MEDIA

Fit to be tied at the Gillers

Jack Robinson, whose emceeing of the grand gesture—the \$25,000 award, the all-expenses-paid party—put his Gillers Prize for fiction on the CanLit map, did it again last week. The Toronto businessman not only allowed two winners—David Adams Richards (*Mercy Among the Children*) and Michael Ondaatje (*English Lessons*)—but gave each one \$25,000. It was elegant, and generous, solution to the selecting jury's self-proclaimed dilemma: "You do what you have to do, and the jury was unanimous," was the cryptic explanation offered by member Margaret Atwood. At first, even the two winners had no idea how much money they would



Richards (left), Ondaatje (right)

receive. Richards shrugged when asked, while Ondaatje said: "We're just hanging fire." Perhaps due to experience calling in 1992 Ondaatje shared the Booker Prize with Barry Unsworth. But that time, he got \$32,500 because he had to split the cash.

News the way we really want it

People may complain there is too much sensationalism in TV news—but do they really mean it? Eight months ago, Chicago CBS station WBBM-TV vowed as new late-night newscast would deliver only serious news, last week, the network was back to Square 1. The reason: poor ratings. Executives had cooked up the no-sensationalism format, which meant shedding the conventional male female anchor team along with the more dramatic and dull news, in an attempt to revive flagging viewership. Beginning in February, a little anchor on a number act presented longer, more investigative stories. After a brief debut episode in the ratings, viewers held their noses and ran. The July ratings sweeps confirmed that the overall audience was down 20 per cent compared with that of the conventionally structured show it replaced. Perhaps, like voters and governments, viewers get the news they deserve.

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Entertainment Notes

War and remembrance

It's 1958, the here and now for the 11-year-old narrator of *Robbinston* (HarperCollins), but thought of very differently by the adults in Don DeLillo's novel. These children are three-part, *Jeppesen*, *Jeppesen* and *Jeppesen*. And no time was more important than the middle period, during which they were broken and remade. Robbinston lives in a Saskatchewan town, the son of air force vet John Henderson and his English war-bride wife, Meg. The boy's world is full of talk of the Second World War—an event made real by the sight of his father squeezing shrapnel from his arm. In a family haunted by war and even by the tension between a hard-drinking father and a mother who doesn't have to be at the edge of civilization, Robbinston learns to plot his own path.



Best-Sellers

Fiction	Nonfiction
1. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 1	1. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 1
2. <i>HEAVEN HAWKING THE CHALLENGER</i> by David Shields (25) 2	2. <i>HEAVEN HAWKING THE CHALLENGER</i> by David Shields (25) 2
3. <i>THE WINTER OF DISSENT</i> by John Galsworthy (25) 3	3. <i>THE WINTER OF DISSENT</i> by John Galsworthy (25) 3
4. <i>THE LAST FORTRESS</i> by John Galsworthy (25) 4	4. <i>THE LAST FORTRESS</i> by John Galsworthy (25) 4
5. <i>REVEREND</i> by John Galsworthy (25) 5	5. <i>REVEREND</i> by John Galsworthy (25) 5
6. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 6	6. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 6
7. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 7	7. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 7
8. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 8	8. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 8
9. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 9	9. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 9
10. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 10	10. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 10

Nonfiction

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9. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 9	9. <i>THE MURDER MESSIAH</i> by Michael Chabon (25) 9
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Allan Fotheringham

Just who is Stockwell Day?

The problem is not—is Sandwich Day ready for the big leagues and can he handle the pitching at 24 Sasser Dwell? The problem is—where did he come from?

That's what puzzles so many voters who are sick to their teeth with Liberal hypocrisy and Christian hubris in a post-Halloween pre-Christmas election that nobody wants (including the Grit caucus) except the Prime Minister. But, we all wonder, does this other guy have the *guts*—aside from his Rollin' Stones—to run the country?

It is indeed a punishment. Wearing, as all democrats do, an alternative. The Liberals have had one of the longest-running political parties anywhere, even *Alabama*. That's not healthy—either for the electorate or a party that is now run by about four people in the PMO, only one of them elected.

But Stock? Who knows? He is a charming, glib man, obviously a nice man who would help Gurney across the street. But he is a blank slate, someone who (it will take two elections, one would guess) would approach the prime ministerial chair with fewer formal credentials than any assistant in our history.

Much is made of his varied background which, to tell the truth, is more applicable to a rags-to-riches tale of a new movie star. Which is what happened to Coccolle Dandee, alias Paul Hogan, who actually was a scaffolder on Sydney's Harbour Bridge before the *caramo d'acqueri* ban.

Stock, fit of the wet suit, benefited—because of his department store executive father—from moving around the country a lot. Born in small-town Ontario, he went to high school in Montreal's tiny Westmount, where he picked up the sort of possible (good for him), but clumsy French that so annoys the bilingual members of the *Ottawa* press corps.

He seems to have morphed into a fish-bait on the west coast, where he was a discredited. It used to be an offhand joke that Pierre Trudeau had never had a real job until he was 40, an heir to millions who went to all the elite universities in the world—Harvard, London School of Economics, the Ecole des sciences politiques in Paris—and assumed the world as a bounded guy in sandals. Has Stock ever been in a foreign land? Nobody knows.

He was an oddball worker in the Northwest Territories. He tried the University of Vienna, but soon dropped out. Madonnin King, always aiming for the top, worked for the



Rockefellers in New York to require their disastrous labour relations after union leaders' families were strangled in a mine disaster in the Rockies.

Major Day, with the mysterious past, was an auctioneer for time, it seems. That would be after he was a children's pedagogue. Good for him. John Diehnshaker was defeated a half-dozen times in attempts at municipal, provincial and federal elections before he persevered and became prime minister in the celebrated 1957 election—a surprise upset that J. Chretien, in his innocence, nearly thinks about.

Stock, for a time, worked in costume decorating, somewhat surprising considering his conservative and views on gay rights. Joe Clark, like Brian Mulroney and Bill Clinton, decided in high school that the aim in life was to run a country, which all three of them, in time, did. One can not detect a trace of political ambition in Stock's fascinating early journey through life.

The problems with Stock, shared by all the voters, is the nagging suspicion about him—while we all want to throw the other man out. Almost everyone who is honest (including 87.3 per cent of the Liberal caucus) want J. Chretien out and P. Martin in. They know they are running a dead horse who is in his last gallop.

But we can't ignore our one amazing, likable new kid on the block, who apparently thinks a TV shot while chopping wood will make up for the fact that he couldn't bother to take the time to get a university degree.

His biography would be great on a best-seller dust jacket: if he was a new-born Jack London or Hemingway or Bill Gates, who at least got an Harvard before he dropped out because of boredom. In Stoolie's strange life pattern a product of attention-span problems? Or is it that he has terrible holidays school

That's what disturbs—and disappoints—the rest of us. Especially when we're desperately seeking someone good enough to get those bastards out of China.



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